

**The Mechanism of Defence: Identity, Structure and Perceptions of Gender and
Sexuality in the Military**

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by

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ABSTRACT

The 'Mechanism of Defence' project is an interdisciplinary study that examines the effect of sexuality on the perceived cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of University Officer Training Corps (UOTC) battalions. **The study privileges sociological theory *and* social policy using Emile Durkheim's Division of Labour as its primary theoretical frame.** The study evidences the influence of social structure as a central and abiding force in the establishment of community values and the integration of sexual minorities. It seeks to inform integrative measures in countries like the United States by examining and illustrating as a model the United Kingdom's approach (post EU-ordered integration).

The study has secured the full participation of the twelve largest (of 19 total) Territorial Army UOTC battalions in England and Wales. Five hundred and fifty-nine (559) British Army UOTC cadets were surveyed as to cohesion, morale, unit effectiveness and familiarity with minorities (including gays and lesbians) in their units in a comprehensive *total sample* of these battalions. 26 Cadets, commanding officers, adjutants and PSIs (Permanent Staff instructors, i.e. service veterans, some active service personnel) agreed to full length interviews (two to three hours each) regarding levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness and the challenges they face as leaders in the post-integrative modern military system.

The study devotes significant attention to the development, manifestation and impact of group, individual and community identity and the dynamics of organizational behaviour. **This includes the extent of (individual and group) defence mechanisms triggered by gender and homophobia within the military environment. It also charts the development of anti-gay discrimination throughout history (from Ancient Greece and Feudal Japan to present day) with a brief but informative look at the effects of religion and politics.**

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Dedication

This manuscript is dedicated to my family
In love and admiration, for never giving up hope and always believing
especially my father

John Bates

and

In loving memory, my mother
Diane Dubour Bates

as well as
my sister Carla Barzetti

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GLOSSARY

Adjutant- The lead instructor or director of a UOTC BHQ. The adjutant is primarily responsible for the operations of the battalion including oversight of psis or permanent staff instructors who administer training to cadets.

Armour Corps- The section of the army responsible for the operation maintenance and deployment of tanks and armoured personnel carriers. A number of permanent staff instructors interviewed for the UOTC have technical experience and training as members of such units.

Battalion- A military unit consisting of approximately 2 to 7 companies. In the case of this study, a battalion of the UOTC consists of student cadets from all universities and institutions of higher education in a single area assembled on the BHQ or battalion headquarters of the central campus among those universities. These three companies are divided by cadet year (i.e. company A is first year students, Company B is second years, etc).

BHQ- Refers to the battalion headquarters or the central building in which UOTC training takes place on or near a British University.

Camp- The annual field exercise of individual UOTC battalions. Cadets are trained for and evaluated upon their ability to manage the functions of maintaining a base camp with such functions as patrol, orienteering and field work. The exercise is significant as it is the primary opportunity for cadets to function as a team and apply knowledge learned in the BHQ under simulated service conditions. The exercise is significant as it is generally during inclement weather and builds the reliance and team work of the group.

Company- A sub division of the battalion. In the case of the UOTC, companies are divided A, B and C denoting (respectively) first second and third year cadets.

Infantry-The branch of the army that conducts combat operations most often on foot. Several instructors interviewed for the study have experience in infantry units. Infantry units are among the most tightly knit, highly trained and likely to encounter adverse conditions with some service personnel interviewed referring to it as the “real army”. Infantry units are a special

branch of the UK armed forces that conducts a recruitment process differently (on a regional basis) from other specialties. As found in this research infantrymen are more likely than other specialties to train and serve alongside men from areas where they grew up.

NHS- Term refers to Britain's National Health Service, a civilian medical service of the United Kingdom which manages the day to day and emergency health care of the nation. The NHS also manages health statistics at the national level and thus it was coding used on NHS forms that was adapted for the layout and placement of items on the survey used for this study.

PSI- Term refers to the permanent staff instructors of the UOTC battalion. Reporting to the adjutant, most psis for the UOTC system are at the RSM, Captain or NCO level of rank and instruct cadets on the required curriculum of leadership and technical knowledge required by the army.

ROTC- The reserve officers training corps, or the specially organized reserve officer training unit on a university campus in the United States.

RSM- Regimental Sergeant Major, a psi (instructor) with the UOTC. For the purposes of this research, an RSM is typically responsible for some aspect of physical plant and/or supply for the battalion in addition to his/her regular instructional duties.

SAS- Special Armed Services, an elite specialist regiment of the Army typically operating in very small groups employing special warfare and tactical techniques often in unusual combat situations such as against terrorist attacks. Some instructors interviewed for this study are recent veterans of S.A.S. forces.

Senior Cadet-A senior cadet is an upper level cadet within the UOTC who has passed qualifying examinations for advanced standing. Such standing requires individuals to have mastery of two or more subject areas over and above other cadets. The senior cadet or senior cadets of a battalion routinely take responsibility for day to day operations and training of lower first and second year cadets.

Unit- any subgroup of the battalion divided into a working team. A particular command (battalion) is divided up into several units of varying size.

UOTC- the university officers training corps is a collection of reserve officers based at particular universities and university systems supervising the military training of cadets (university students) prior to their graduation and selection for officer training with an academy (in the case of the Territorial Army this academy is Sandhurst).

Chapter 1

Introduction: Discrimination

“Enlistment for general service implies that the individual may be sent anywhere, -- to any ship or station where he is needed. Men on board ship live in particularly close association; they work side by side; and form a closely knit, highly coordinated team. How many white men would choose, of their own accord that their closest associates in sleeping quarters, at mess, and in a gun’s crew should be of another race? How many would accept such conditions, if required to do so, without resentment and just as a matter of course? The General Board believes that the answer is “Few, if any,” and further believes that if the issue were forced, there would be a lowering of contentment, teamwork and discipline in the service”

Remarks of the military work group: Racial Integration of the U.S. Navy: 1940

The remarks of the U.S. Navy’s work group on racial integration in 1940, a quote drawn from the official report illustrates the phenomenon of discrimination. When immutable characteristics, differences such as race, sex and even sexual orientation are stigmatized in an occupational setting a separate and unequal class of citizens is inevitably created. When that occupational setting is the United States Military, the nations’ single largest employer, one that purports to represent the people of the United States, to be entrusted with their defence and security it becomes clear that such stigmatization has the potential to support societal discrimination outside of the military as well.

The intensely negative effect that the presence of minorities would allegedly have upon unit cohesion and morale and the subsequent impact upon unit effectiveness is the key reason given for this discrimination given by the Department of Defence. The military is a pragmatic, mission-focused realm of authoritarianism with “unique circumstances” that separate it from civilian life. Such circumstances make permissible, even demand the exclusion of homosexuals in order to avoid “an unacceptable risk to high standards of morale,

good order, discipline and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability” (U.S. Code § 654). It is a profoundly biased rationale that would scarcely fail to offend the basic sensibilities of many people in any *other* workplace and yet, because it is the military, an occupational environment, separate from society, staffed by individuals with the sacred task of guarding others it is deemed (in the context of the 1940 declaration at least) a necessary and therefore acceptable bias.

Few rationales for the continuation of discriminatory practice have proven as durable as this one, yet few if any occupational environments have been provided such a mandate, i.e. the legally-prescribed latitude to exclude individuals based upon minority status. It is an institutional bias successfully applied by military authorities to many populations from racial minorities and women throughout the history of the services to the oppression of gays and lesbians in the services in present day. The shifting socio-political values of civilian life are no foundation upon which to structure the traditionally sacred, eminently practical and necessary mission of the armed forces say critics of gay and lesbian service, the military services are no place for *social experimentation*.

The American military’s war on gays, or rather the American political establishment’s war on gays in the country’s military is essentially a war on its own people, and some of its most talented, most dedicated and most *necessary* personnel. It is also a war that has distracted the United States from the complex business of other wars it is fighting. Discharging more than ten thousand personnel from duty in the name of its anti-gay policy¹ (at the time this research was conducted) since the collective law and policy known as “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” has been introduced the United States Armed Forces have haemorrhaged specialists from all manner of occupations from medicine, to aviation. In a series of recent jaw-dropping moves the U.S. Military has even

¹ Statistics regarding military discharges for this study were provided by SLDN (Service Members Legal Defence Network, a legal aid society and the Michael D. Palm Center at the University of California, a thinktank dedicated to the evaluation of military human resources policy review.

been forced to cripple its own combat support/intelligence forces by removing key linguists *during combat operations*. This includes many of its virtually irreplaceable Arabic and Farsi translators and in strategically catastrophic numbers as well. Exactly how many American and allied personnel in the war theatre will now be exposed to hostile fire by a gaping blind spot in American Military Intelligence is unknown. How many U.S. and allied service personnel will die as a direct result of this discrimination is also unknown but one fact remains clear. America's war on gays has given the nation's enemies an edge they could not buy. Al Qaeda and the Taliban could never hope to damage the United States Military as strategically as it has managed to wound itself again and again through persistent discriminatory human resources policy.

If a culture deems it appropriate to discriminate against a minority in its national defence, it is a natural deduction of the populace that such discrimination is acceptable in other realms as well from civilian employment to housing and the courts. The mission of the United States Department of Defence, as it is written is "to provide the military forces needed to deter war and to protect the security of *our* country" (<http://www.defenselink.mil/admin/about.html>). The United States, as a nation, has been a place of belonging, indeed a place of *full* citizenship for all men and women only in varying degrees throughout its history. The use of the word "our" is ironic in this case as it speaks of the entire country in an inclusive and mutually responsible way. The inference is that if you are not a part of our mission, you are not one of us. What do we as a society, as a country make of those ineligible to be a part of that mission?

The opportunity to serve one's country as a member of its armed forces means many things to many people. For some it means the esteem of carrying on a family tradition. For others it represents an opportunity for learning, perhaps in the absence of other resources and the ability to provide for ones' own career aspirations. For all, it means that one is taking an active role in the stewardship and welfare of one's own country as an equal citizen. It affords one the pride that comes only from belonging to a team. This is what military service has

meant for countless millions of individuals worldwide from the very beginnings of human civilization.

For all these far-reaching and idealistic objectives, perhaps it is the practical benefits that can accompany military service for which many strive in present day. Such benefits can include not just employment with retirement benefits, but also housing, job training, health care and even higher education to provide the potential for superior job placement after their service. Additionally; active service benefits for families of service members can include education, health care, housing and commissary benefits that run into the hundreds of millions of dollars collectively on an annual basis. It is an opportunity, a benefit of citizenship, an investment that the country has made in the individual that pays substantial dividends throughout the individual's life.

Unfortunately this benefit of citizenship is not and has not been available to every able-bodied citizen throughout history. It is not an investment that is made in all citizens. Women and Blacks had been denied the honour and benefit of military service for decades and saw that discriminatory ethos reflected back at them in civilian circles as well. Discrimination still remains for gay and lesbian citizens in housing, employment and health care both in civilian circles and in the armed forces of the United States, a nation with arguably the largest per capita defence department budget in the world. The armed forces are funded by every taxpayer, yet its membership, its opportunities and the dispensation of its benefits have been controlled by a sector of the population reluctant to share them. This keeps jobs, especially highly sought-after occupations largely out of reach of all but a selected (ostensibly non-minority) few.

When a nation leaves minority citizens out of the mission of its military, it makes that minority beholden to others for its own security. It leaves them defenceless, without the skills and freedoms enjoyed and often taken for granted by others of the citizenry. It contributes, fundamentally as a public entity to a line of undue

exclusivity and privilege. Excluding members of a minority from an occupational environment like the military leaves them without the skills training, the infrastructure to develop those skills and the self esteem to share in the responsibility and benefits of that mission. It leaves them unable to apply themselves as equal citizens, systematically robbing them of much more than their independence. When a nation cuts a minority out of its military it not only robs them of part of their humanity, but leaves itself in an ethically indefensible position.

When the walls of policy-based discrimination have fallen in so many other fields of structured human interaction (civilian employment, public education etc.) how is it that this discrimination is allowed to be maintained? The unique circumstances and demands of military service have long been perceived as placing it outside the realm of civilian life. The shifting values of a democratic system have been viewed as incompatible with the objectives of military service. These lines of reasoning hinging on teamwork and discipline (potential objections of armed forces personnel to working with gays according to a 1992 General Accounting Office Report) had provided the armed forces with the same type of selective fencing necessary to keep other minorities (including women and blacks) out of the services for decades (some occupations until just recently).

Discrimination & Immutable Characteristics

The manipulation of race, sex, ethnicity and other immutable characteristics for the sake of discrimination is not a new concept in the United States. From battles to maintain segregation in the public schools to promulgations under regulation CFR 32 (et. al.) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (a.k.a. “don’t-ask-don’t tell”) the epidemiology of American prejudice has evolved to keep pace with those who might oppose it. For many there is a competitive edge to be gained and money to be made in the oppression of others. Fewer high achieving people with whom to compete means greater gain for less effort. In a highly competitive arena like the military any edge is a welcome one. Playing on the tender weaknesses of America’s immensely fragile national identity and the

identity concerns of countless individuals, a small hegemony has been able to harness societal fears of difference and wield a nation's homophobia as its own personal weapon.

U.S. Code § 654. Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the U.S. Armed Forces

- (7) One of the most critical elements in combat capability is unit cohesion, that is, the bonds of trust among individual service members that make the combat effectiveness of a military unit greater than the sum of the combat effectiveness of the individual service members.

- (13) The prohibition against homosexual conduct is a longstanding element of military law that continues to be necessary in the unique circumstances of military service.

- (14) The armed forces must maintain personnel policies that exclude persons whose presence in the armed forces would create an unacceptable risk to the armed forces high standards of morale, good order and discipline and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability.

- (15) The presence in the armed forces of persons who demonstrate a propensity or intent to engage in homosexual acts would create an unacceptable risk to the high standards of morale, good order and discipline, and unit cohesion that are the essence of military capability.

To effectively examine the sociology of anti-gay discrimination in the military and the equally biased social policy from which it stems requires the reader to have a thorough understanding of particular concepts presented in the government's argument for maintaining the ban, as well as an equally thorough understanding of the intervening social, theological, historical and political currents involved.

This inventory is summarized in the bulleted list below (four elements that will be discussed and developed at length in this thesis):

- An understanding of military cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness
- An understanding of identity in general and *military identity* in particular and in contrast
- An understanding of the structure of social relations in general and the regulatory regime of such *social structure in the military* in particular and in contrast
- An understanding of homophobia from an interdisciplinary & multidisciplinary perspective, including religion, politics and history

In his 1974 book “Stigma; Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity”, noted sociologist Erving Goffman identified personal experience as the ‘turning point’ for those who carry a social stigma (disability, disfigurement or ‘otherness’). The essential concept of the contact hypothesis, the opportunity to understand and appreciate members of a minority simply by being allowed the freedom to know them is the key. Systematically separating members of a minority from meaningful contact with their non-minority counterparts has always served as an effective means of controlling societal perception of that minority. The American system of segregating public schools and public transportation for minorities (by race) both constitute strong examples of this enduring phenomenon. Indeed, one of the legal rationales for maintaining the separation of races in America’s schools was based upon its active separation of the races in public transportation (Plessey vs. Ferguson 163.US 537, 1896) as evidenced by statements of the assenting justices deciding the case.

Keeping the average (“normal”/non-minority) person physically barred, isolated from the minority effectively prevents Goffman’s ‘turning point’ from taking place. It keeps the minority ‘alien’. The non-minority population is unable to

experience and draw its own conclusions about the minority population and therefore must rely solely on what it is *allowed* to learn about that minority as dictated by 'authorities'. It is only after the curtain is lifted and genuine interaction (perhaps for a common and *mutually* vital purpose) takes place between individuals of the non-minority and minority community that a personal knowledge of and experience *with* individuals of that particular minority may allow preconceived notions of that minority to dissolve. "The categoristic approach recedes", writes Goffman "and gradually sympathy, understanding and a realistic assessment of personal qualities take its place". According to Goffman, the resoluteness with which stereotypes are typically held tends to soften "as persons come to be on closer terms with each other". (Goffman, Stigma, 1963, pp. 51).

Personal qualities such as reliability, leadership, dedication and even a sense of humour can supplant the biased inferences of a minority previously held by their non-minority counterparts. Individuals may begin to question generally held stereotypes of minorities perhaps because *their* minority neighbour, *their* minority co-worker, *their* minority flight line or gunnery mate is '*not that way*'. These are simple lessons to learn but ones that will never take place while people are not allowed to serve openly in the military forces. Indeed the experience of blacks and women in the military services did much to change societal perceptions of them and reduce discrimination both inside and outside the military following their inclusion. The comprehensive study of examples of gay and non-gay contact in the services (those of groups and individuals) to document successes, identify areas for improvement and understand the actual dynamics is vital to understanding the issue of gay and lesbian inclusion and effectively informing debates upon it before a policy of integration is written or dismissed.

It is these sociological dynamics that comprise the collective phenomena examined for this study. The structure of relations and identity (both individual and collective), the regulatory environment of the military, as well as directive

elements of individual and group behaviour as conceptualized and established by leading sociologists provide the theoretical framework of the inquiry in its methodology. The impact of these directive elements upon the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness as defined by the armed forces will be measured and evidenced in real terms in the field work of the study.

Phenomena Assessed in Fieldwork: *Identity, Regulatory Regime and Social Structure*

What is social structure (in general), and what is the nature of its strength as a control mechanism? What is the social structure of the military environment and how might this effectuate or prevent successful integration of gays and lesbians within that environment? This study provides an effective exploration of the concept of social structure, its development and function within a community as well as the values system surrounding it including how civilian and military social structure differ from each other and why. This exploration culminates in an analysis of military structures of social interaction as forms of regulatory regimes informed by leading contemporary scholars and conducted through the eyes of those who live it including an understanding of the practical dynamics upon which it is based and hence how it provides an aegis for minority integration. Social structure is a powerful determinant of behavioural standards, standards that cut blindly, definitively and demonstrably across lines of minority status. In addition to the military environments already firmly established, even formally written behavioural protocols, the endogenous social structure that emerges within it through individual and group interaction as a result of the physical and practical circumstance of military unit life is evidenced and explored.

Identity

Alongside (and indeed within) social structure, perhaps an equally if not more powerful driver of behaviour in general and of motivation in particular is that of identity. From the theoretical and philosophical threads of Erving Goffman,

George Herbert Mead and Paul Ricoeur to the clinical application of Sigmund and Anna Freud and Erik Erikson the study examines how the dynamic peg of identity is developmentally and culturally shaped as well as how it is placed into the integral pegboard, the seemingly rigid yet uniquely flexible fabric of social structure.

Cohesion + Morale = Unit Effectiveness

How well a unit works together depends upon more than the personal and collective chemistry of its members. The nature of the environment in which that unit operates, the training it receives and the challenges it faces therein are just as prescriptive to its effectiveness if not more so than the individuals who populate it. What is the nature of personal bonding, camaraderie and mutual respect, indeed what is cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness? Where do these things begin, how do such things relate to job satisfaction and to what degree is individual demographic difference (race, religion or sexuality) a factor in this process if indeed it is at all? Discriminatory sentiment, often learned in childhood (and allowed to progress unchallenged) can be very enduring and can follow individuals throughout their lives. The mentoring, role modelling and relationships, both formal and informal created in the military environment shape attitude and build confidence often in the face of difficult circumstances. The development of such attitudes and qualities in the intimate living *and* working environment of the military are critical to unit function and carry serious implications for the individual, for the unit and for the force at large.

If openly gay and lesbian cadets in the training environment are uncomfortable with individuals or groups in their unit or battalion based upon differences incurred by their minority status they are less likely to ask for help or support when struggling to learn equipment or techniques necessary to their occupational specialty. Likewise, if heterosexual cadets/personnel are uncomfortable being associated or communicating with gays and lesbians, mistrustful or resentful of lesbian and gay service personnel they are potentially

less likely to go out of their way to assist them if they are subordinates and less likely to ask them for help if they are superiors. The mutually respectful and supportive nature of such relationships is central to military effectiveness. From munitions to emergency medical this discomfort can affect the development of the units' overall skill and knowledge base and ultimately it's performance on objective evaluation measures and in the field of operations. If sexuality truly is a factor in military effectiveness it must be examined and evidenced from many angles as this study has done.

Any full understanding of the impact of sexuality on the cohesion, morale and effectiveness of military units must include an understanding of what exactly is understood by 'cohesion', 'morale' and 'unit effectiveness'. It must provide the reader with an understanding of the social and environmental forces that motivate individuals to work well together. It must include an understanding of the impact of identity, of social structure and of homophobia as culturally and contextually influenced phenomena. It must also provide an evaluative review of modern policy-based initiatives conducted to transcend such sociological problems (including discrimination). The opening chapters of this thesis briefly but carefully trace the history of sexuality and gender-related discrimination across cultures from ancient times to the present identifying foundations of bias and their implications, i.e. the foundations they provide for modern homophobia and gender discrimination. A thorough review of literature will present the (military) forces definition of cohesion, morale and effectiveness as well as a sampling of measures designed to assess them.

Cohesion

Cohesion is a phenomenon investigated largely by group psychologists for a variety of purposes in a variety of locations from sports teams and occupational environments to group psychotherapy. Understanding of cohesion as a phenomenon has evolved over time though with relative consistency. It is generally recognized as having been defined by "Moreno and Jennings (1937, p.

371) as 'the forces holding the individuals within the groupings in which they are', and Festinger et al. in 1950 as 'the total field of forces which act on members to remain in the group' (Friedkin, 2004, pp. 411). Modern Social Psychologist Michael Hogg explains cohesion as "a field of forces, deriving from the attractiveness of the group and its members and the degree to which the group satisfies individual goals, acts upon the individual. The resultant variance of these forces of attraction produces cohesiveness, which is responsible for group membership continuity and adherence to group standards" (Hogg and Vaughan, 2002, pp. 286).

Cohesion is important in occupational and specifically in military circles because it governs in large part the degree to which members coordinate their efforts to achieve group goals. The more attracted to the group the individual is and the better that group satisfies the goals of individuals within it the higher the cohesion tends to be, hence, the better able the group is to achieve goals together. It is this element of cohesion (that of mutual support) that is of central importance to Armies including the American Army. So much so that it occupies a great deal of explanatory text in the Army's Leadership Field Manual (both UK and American).

"4-54. Actions that safeguard and sustain the Nation occur everywhere there are Soldiers and civilian members of the Army team. All that tireless motivation comes in part from the cohesion that springs from the Warrior Ethos. Soldiers fight for each other and their loyalty runs front to rear as well as left to right. Mutual support is a defining characteristic of Army culture, present regardless of time or place" (FM 6-22, 2006, pp. 12).

Given that military units have the duty (when necessary) to perform at high levels of effectiveness often under difficult and anxiety-provoking circumstances this element of group functioning is critical. The cohesiveness of a group can

moderate, even to some degree alleviate such anxiety and allow the individuals in the group to focus on designated tasks to the exclusion of environmental stressors *because* of their connection with others in the group (unit). Environmental stressors, especially those that occur as a result of a shared (difficult) situation can even enhance cohesion (according to many group psychology researchers²) “the tendency to affiliate with others undergoing a similar experience increases when people are anxious” (Bruhn, 2009, pp 38). This is what makes cohesion such an integral part of military unit effectiveness. This is the powerful bond of trust to which military officials in the training sector often refer. The particular stressors of the training and occupational environment will be examined in further detail in chapter 5 (Non-Empirical two) on identity and social structure.

Morale (and Motivation)

Morale and motivation, both the positive state of mind one feels when with a group and the level of initiative or positive drive resultant from that feeling are key elements of unit effectiveness. The U.S. Army Field Manual on Leadership (FM22-100) defines morale as “the mental, emotional and spiritual state of the individual: Essentially it is how an individual feels”. For the purposes of this research the term “morale” will be used to describe the willingness to perform required or assigned tasks.

Motivation

A component of morale according to service leadership publications is motivation. “Motivation supplies the will to do what is necessary to accomplish a mission. In short, motivation results in their (soldiers) acting on their own

² The effects of anxiety on individuals within groups to increase their tendency to affiliate, i.e. an unspoken solidarity, are well established. Psychologist Stanley Schachter describes the “directional, anxiety-affiliation relationship” and the “affiliative choice of those “choosing to be with people in a similar plight” (Schachter, 1959, pp. 20). Psychologist Jack Phillips quotes Steven Jex when he describes the “tendency to affiliate and form groups has become an adaptive behavior and thus has endured over many centuries” (Phillips, 2008, pp. 340). This concept has been a prevailing theme in sociology as well. Erving Goffman explores the concept of “co-presence”, a situation in which “individuals, present in a particular setting have some kind of mutual awareness” (Giddens, 1997, pp. 115).

initiative when they see something needs to be done” (US Army FM, 2006, pp. 1-2). Beyond their individually assigned duties, the morale and motivation levels of the group will fill in potential gaps on a task. Groups that are highly motivated are quick to identify loose ends and take it upon themselves as individuals to do what a job requires. In a highly-motivated group individuals can even work as a single consciousness, performing seamlessly in task completion.

Unit Effectiveness

Unit effectiveness as a phenomenon is in part the sum of cohesion and morale and in part the active manifestation of both. Major Richard D. Hooker Jr. of the U.S. Army³ says that “... while soldiers may draw strength from unit pride, their ability to persevere, endure and remain determined in the face of mounting combat stress is primarily a function of small-group solidarity” (Hooker, 1995, pp. 27). The concept of unit effectiveness or a group’s perceived ability to operate as a unit in the military terms described does not require observation of such a unit solely in a combat situation. The duties of military units and individual service personnel include countless other (parallel and supportive) responsibilities *relative* to combat functions. However many reserve units, even in present day have not experienced actual combat firsthand. The stress of training is formidable on its own, and is meant to be. The self-perceived ability of a UOTC unit to operate as a cohesive group with high morale in order to achieve the goals of training and overcome obstacles is the central observation made in reference to this research. Military officials associated with the study are confident that both the method and the observed results are replicable and consistent with the broader population and principles of the military services both active and reserve.

³ Major Hooker is an instructor, consultant, editor and writer specializing in military affairs. His career (beginning as an ROTC/UOTC Cadet) with the United States Army spans more than 30 years. He holds multiple honours with the United States Military including 3 awards of the Defence Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, and the bronze star. He completed his career in Washington as Special Assistant to the Defence Intelligence Officer for Asia with the Pentagon.

On the topic of unit effectiveness Researcher Frederick Manning of the Division of Neuropsychiatry at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research in Washington DC quotes Israeli Military Researcher Reuven Gal who alludes to "...an organized group,...which performs consistently at a high level of efficiency, when tasks assigned to it are carried out promptly and effectively. In such units each member is likely to contribute his share willingly doing what he believes to be worthwhile and assuming that his associates will do their part" (Gal, 1991, pp. 455). This phenomenon is basically the unit's collective ability to work with each other in a team-oriented, mutually respectful, supportive and productive way.

Why Britain? Why UOTC?

Evidencing social structure and evaluating interaction (cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness) alongside the open service of gays and lesbians is a complex task requiring much from the research participants regardless of their sexuality. The immediate responses and thoughtful reflections of participants (largely white male heterosexuals) who are thoroughly familiar with their gay and lesbian colleagues is a key requirement, an irreplaceable one in fact that is not afforded by an American sample. If the minority is hidden, denied (or in this case closeted) by a fear of expulsion from their job (as they are in the United States under current policy restrictions) then examples of this interaction (in sufficient number) are not available. Such social phenomena cannot be explored, documented or reported upon as thoroughly as needed and as such can offer no opportunities for understanding. A closer look at military sociology following recent policy changes in the military forces of Great Britain (European High Court: 1992, et. al.) offers this opportunity⁴. The British sample will allow the depth of illustration for which I am searching.

⁴ Decisions by the European Court of Human Rights on this issue include Lustig-Prean and Beckett v UK (1999), Smith and Grady v UK (1999), Perkin and R v UK (2002) and Beck, Copp and Bazeley v UK(2002)[http://\(www.stonewall.org.uk/at_home/immigration_asylum_and_international/2681.asp\)](http://www.stonewall.org.uk/at_home/immigration_asylum_and_international/2681.asp).

British UOTC: Likeness as a basis for prediction

Proving that gay and lesbian personnel in the military are not a threat to the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of military forces, including American military forces requires a researcher to lift the curtain of ambiguity surrounding gays and lesbians already in the military. At the time of this research America does not allow the service of openly gay and lesbian personnel in its military. To answer the question as to how the integration of gays and lesbians into America's Military forces *might* unfold requires investigatory access to a cognate group, a group similar enough in character and culture to the United States to be observed and, where possible, explain for themselves the how and why behind the success of gay and lesbian military integration. It requires the survey of hundreds of personnel (in this case cadets) framing dozens of interviews with professional (recent veteran military) staff and cadets functioning in the post-integrative forces. While the American Military might be in the early questioning stages of implementing gay and lesbian integration, the military services upon which America's are based (those of the United Kingdom) have successfully passed that milestone some years ago. However the UK's foray into integration policy is only one of the strong rationales for its choice as a research sample.

Similar enough in traditions, ethos and national identity, both militarily and in the civilian context the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain tend to identify more with each other in national character than other countries. Each nation consistently ranks in the top 3 international holiday destinations mutually most popular with their respective citizenries. Americans choose Britain as either their main holiday destination when travelling abroad as well as their central jumping off point to Europe, whilst thousands of Britons enjoy the cities, theme parks and hospitality of the United States each year. Politically, Britain and America have also shared experiences as actors on the world stage for decades. Strong allies both in diplomatic as well as military operations; the USA and Britain tend to stand side by side with their Armies, Air Forces, Navies and Marine Corps often training together and deploying to foreign combat zones at the same time, utilizing the same craft. Members of the British

forces have an experience with and a *perspective on* their American counterparts unlike any other nation in the modern world.

By the time American forces ever saw the shores of Tripoli or engaged the Barbary Pirates, the British Military had already spent more than 8 centuries leading much of the world in military technology and development⁵. America's older sibling across the Atlantic has pioneered persevered and engineered solutions from the simplest to the most infinitely complex. From Royal Navy Medics who fought scurvy on the high seas with simple lemon juice to the courageous airmen of the RAF who engaged in aerial combat vastly outnumbered over their own cities in World War Two, to the recent management of aid to flood-ravaged Pakistan the armed forces of Great Britain have conducted precision operations for centuries. As a force they have managed countless combat, humanitarian and policy-related conflicts under the most difficult of circumstances. For an effective lesson in military management issues of this sort America need look no further than Britain. As an independent nation America has struggled throughout its (relatively) short time on Earth with the most basic of social problems, including discrimination. Given the immense pride that the United States feels at having declared its independence from England in 1776, the comparatively young nation, even in present day seldom looks past its own borders when formulating solutions to national problems. The United Kingdom of Great Britain itself would likely have not addressed its own military's anti-gay discrimination until ordered to do by the recently-formed European Court of Human Rights.

While Britain and America are indeed two separate nations with significant and abiding differences between them, their respective cultural and ideological

⁵ "The shores of Tripoli", a lyric from the U.S. Marine Corps Battle Hymn refers to the country's first foreign naval engagement as an independent state to defend merchant ships from pirate attacks off the coast of North Africa in the 1790's. This is contrasted with England's first officially recognized naval combat engagement (under King Alfred in 882) against the Danish and the ensuing development of English tactical warships in service to the ongoing conflict in 895. These events predate the formation of America's pre-revolutionary colonial "Continental" Navy (in 1775) by more than 8 centuries (National Museum of the Royal Navy).

likeness and shared characteristics continue to make one an excellent exemplar for the other in hypothetical terms. Britain's UOTC (University Officers Training Corps) and America's ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) are both equally responsible for similar proportions of their respective nation's military recruitment at the officer level as well. The cadets and under officers of a UOTC/ROTC program and the professional (veteran military) permanent staff instructors who train them are also at once the most experienced and the least likely division of the forces to be deployed to current theatres of combat which makes them a well-informed yet more consistently reliable population upon which to conduct this research.

Doxa⁶, Reflexivity, Pre-Reflexivity & Barriers to Truth

“Bourdieu perceived obstacles to scientific knowledge both in methodologies based on “participant observation” and in methodologies too remote from the object of study. He considered the excessive proximity of the former as an artificial familiarization with a foreign social environment, whereas the latter relied too much on a transcendental intellectual understanding pertaining to the scholastic doxa. In order to overcome this, Bourdieu insisted on the epistemological importance of participant objectification (Bourdieu 2000j) which should allow social scientists to analyse methodically and control the pre-reflexive elements of their method, classifications and observations” (Grenfell, 2008, pp. 200).

The work of Pierre Bourdieu contributes not only to the theoretical framework of this thesis but also to the philosophical and methodological as well. Bourdieu's

⁶ According to Grenfell (2008), Bourdieu develops our understanding of Doxa as a “...pre-reflexive intuitive knowledge shaped by experience, to unconscious inherited physical and relational predispositions. In Bourdieu's mind, this approach is epistemologically sounder than traditional anthropological approaches in that it bridges the gap between the disengaged intellectual projection of structural anthropology and the artificial involvement of ethno-methodology” (Grenfell, 2008 pp. 120).

published work, particularly his '*Outline of a Theory of Practice*' urges vigilance in researchers like myself against the pitfalls of investigating what he calls "the natural and social world (that) appears as self-evident" (Bourdieu, 1972, pp. 164). This work speaks a cautionary tale to me as a researcher with previous research and clinical work in the military environment, especially in a time of war as was the case when this study was done. I have years of experience as a psychological clinician with veterans in adult psychiatry and post-traumatic stress. I have an understanding of military protocol and operations from a legal perspective as well as experience as an observer with other military branches. Additionally the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are in the paper and on the evening news on a daily basis. Such exposure contributes to a prevailing *doxa* surrounding the military, its personnel and operations, not just in my mind but in that of virtually everyone I speak with. In short, my threshold for developing an *artificial familiarity* with subjects is low and something I want to be conscious of avoiding in order to protect the quality of my research findings.

Additionally I understand that my previous experience may likely serve to contribute to a unique form of observer bias and even blindness. I must be doubly reflective and doubly observant. How likely is it that on one of my many walks through a battalion headquarters, along a training field or fence line or through a barracks that I will miss something significant for perhaps no better reason than because I have seen it countless times before and not considered it significant? What interactions might I simply not notice or even take for granted?

There is also an epistemic privilege to my approach to fieldwork that I must appreciate, not just during the visits and interviews but after at the write up. Unlike first year cadets, my pre-fieldwork visits have given me the knowledge and tools to fit in. I am dressed in the same non-uniform (polo shirt and khaki trousers) as instructors but I am not an instructor. Dressed this way with a metal clipboard and pad in hand, photo identification around my neck and without the requisite camouflage gear worn by cadets I am often perceived as an officer, typically medical, a status that casually affords me uninhibited passage through corridors and offices on my way to meetings. I do not report to them, or they to

me and there is an ambiguity to this, a palpable sense of invisibility at times. It is by these means that I can effectively transgress the usual barriers of rank and social structure within the battalion thereby exposing myself to layers of that structure inaccessible to most of those who populate it. It is by virtue of that unique status that I must respect that the data I am able to acquire and the conclusions that I am able to draw might differ from that of both outsiders investigating that structure as well as (potentially) those auditing it from within.

It is in this way that my preconception(s) and my ensuing approach of what I perceive as familiar territory present a weakness. Author/researcher Dawn Mannay quotes Hodgkinson (2005) in her assessment of this peculiar qualitative divide and the dangers it presents. "Clear insider/outsider boundaries", She writes, "have traditionally been drawn for groups of respondents who are structurally marginalized in respect of class, ethnicity sexuality and gender" (Mannay, 2010, pp. 92). All my life I have been the minority, the outsider in this frame, a state of being with particular demands and a feeling of isolation that has affected my negotiation of relationships and my navigation of social structure(s). It is a feeling that makes my perspective unique, has supplied much of the impetus behind my desire for this research and yet to conduct this research well I must accept the possibility that this may not be the case for my research participants. To look objectively at the state of recruit training, cadet life and modern professional soldiering I must suspend this personal history and accept the fact that in 2010 these feelings of difference, self-consciousness and isolation may no longer be the reality for cadets and service personnel.

To properly experiencing *their* lives, *their* interactions, *their* social structure and develop an understanding of *their* particular challenges and experiences unencumbered by my own will require a method of effectively "making the familiar strange". Choosing a foreign military service (in this case the British Regular and Territorial Army) will reduce this artificial familiarity. While appropriately similar to my own country, certainly there are differences in history, protocol, language and other aspects of culture that will keep me consistently on my toes. Missing such aspects from the subtle to the overt, especially in the presence of command staff (captain, lieutenant commander and

even higher) will be embarrassing, potentially seen as disrespectful and affect my ability to secure interviews at subsequent battalions. I have a lot to learn here and I know it.

I am actively living this process and holding myself to the same standard of decorum of cadets and instructors. The comparatively casual nature of summer operations in preparation for autumn training is not casual to me. This is my work environment and one in which I take great pride, including my professionalism, appearance and posture. My polo shirt and khakis will be pressed, my shoes will be shined. In the presence of battalion commanders and NCOs I will not speak until spoken to and stand respectfully until invited to sit. My focus on fitting in, demonstrating respect and not disrupting the discipline and activities of the operation will ground me thoroughly and (hopefully) heighten my senses as to what is going on around me as the research is conducted.

The Research Question

Does the inclusion of openly gay and lesbian cadets influence the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of University Officer Training Corps? What are non-gay cadets perspectives? What are gay and lesbian cadet perspectives? How do gay and non-gay service personnel relate to each other, both professionally and informally? From the perspective of all of them; gay and non-gay cadets, gay and non-gay active duty and veterans, what is the best way to proceed with the integration of a military force? The study does not only assess the attitudes and opinions of cadets but also the permanent staff instructors and professional soldiers, (the majority of which are just returning from combat theatre at the time of interview) who staff the training sites. This is where the best, most qualified answers to these questions can be found.

Empirical & Non-Empirical Approaches

One glance at the table of contents will tell a reader that this study paints a detailed portrait of the problem. The detailed exploration of anthropological, historical and political underpinnings of sexuality prefaces the study in a comprehensive fashion to inform the reader's understanding of the problematization of sexuality. The construction of identity via philosophical, sociological and psychological (including psychoanalytic methods) is sketched in an equally detailed fashion to inform the readers understanding of the social environment, including its complex and delicate ecology. This is done to provide the reader with the most effective point of departure. Without these necessary technical navigational tools the study will not serve as an effective vehicle to understanding the barriers to integration. Instead of separating data (as had been suggested) the charts, graphs and tables enumerating the survey responses are embedded within the results chapter alongside the studies' many interviews. This distinctive grouping technique illustrates in very real terms that the reader has arrived and that strong conclusions can be drawn from the study. From departure, to navigation to arrival it also illustrates something of even greater value.

Following this process, the reader is not only able to know what those numbers are by looking at the data in table and chart form, he or she is also able to understand their full meaning, the reasons behind them, their development over time and indeed (through interview and focus groups at all levels) the implications of those findings for the population concerned. One (of many) example(s) of this is the complex yet thoroughly-evidenced nature of the relationship between female cadets and gay male cadets (both minorities in this environment) and the impact of *that* relationship on the *overall* social structure and interaction of the battalion as a whole. Other examples include the progression of acceptance rates of gay and lesbian colleagues by non-gay cadets and the strength of social structure in surmounting the tension of conflicting religious beliefs to name just a few examples. This is the chief contribution that the '*Mechanism of Defence*' as a study makes to the discipline of sociology in general and to that of military sociology in particular.

Linear Plans vs. Parallel Processes

The overall developmental process of the study should also be acknowledged as unique. Unlike many studies which break ground with a ready set of questions and objectives, the '*Mechanism*' study emerged differently than other Ph.D. theses. What makes the presence of the Gay and Lesbian minority or any other minority (as reflected by history) regarded as incompatible with military service, specifically what makes them a threat to cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness as argued by advocates of the ban was the central focus of the study. Several survey tools were evaluated to inform this process (including Gregory Herek's Attitude Scales, etc.) and all were found to be ineffective for the purposes identified. It was only after a thorough understanding of the meaning behind the concepts of military cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness were formed that the central questions of the study emerged.

Developing an environmental assessment of the military environment, surveying cadets at large in a total population sample about their perceptions as individuals, conducting follow-up individual and group interviews with cadets and professional staff instructors to explain the findings of the large population sample, these were the routes by which such questions were effectively answered. It was essentially the parallel processes of (pre)fieldwork, analysis of theory and review of literature that are responsible for this. I inspected battalions in the Northwest, South and Midlands to gain a firsthand account of the training environment. What goes on there? What types of facilities are available, what type (e.g. computers and infrastructure) are not available? All such questions were posed to professional staff before the type of survey (environmental assessment) was even designed. This allowed me to understand the goals and processes of military training, how those goals relate to cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness and how those goals and processes and the lack of infrastructure can move cadets and battalions toward greater achievement of them.

Signposting: Mapping the Journey

This study will begin with a sociological and interdisciplinary review of literature on the subject (gays and other minorities in the military services) in chapter two. This will include the historical, sociological and research foundations of the inquiry as well as the authors contributing to the conceptual framework of identity and social structure (i.e. the regulatory regime of military interaction). Chapter three will present the philosophical and theoretical orientation(s) underpinning the study to inform the reader as to the social physics and comprehensive structure of the military environment, the mechanics of interaction that takes place there and thereby how the particular methods were chosen. Chapter four, *Habitus, Holiness and Homophobia*, the first of two non-empirical chapters will then investigate the (primarily sociological but also interdisciplinary; psychological, anthropological, historical, political, et. al.) development of homophobia to inform the reader of the relevant social dynamics at work throughout history to the present day. Chapter five, the second of these two non-empirical chapters will establish through equally interdisciplinary lenses the presence *of* and contrast *between* social structure within the civilian and military environments. The critical conceptual and developmental frameworks of *Social Structure* and *Identity* will be explored with particular relevant emphasis on sexuality and the military occupational environment. These two non-empirical chapters will prepare the reader to evaluate for themselves the prevailing patterns of behaviour that emerge in the fieldwork. Chapter six will then present the practical plan for the investigative fieldwork including the (narrative) negotiations for access, the development and deployment of the survey and the conduct of random interviews with professional soldiers and cadets. This will be followed by chapter seven which will review the demographics and scale of the survey, comprehensively inventory the results and provide quantitative and qualitative analyses evidencing the hypotheses. Chapter eight will summarize the study, review the limitations and most importantly analyse how the data may be used to positively affect interactions within the environment through the mechanism of leadership, policy and practical operations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

Where is the balance and where is the middle ground?

The issue of gays in America's military has typically invited critical opinion and research only from opposite poles of the socio-political spectrum. Civil libertarians and academics decry the fascist evils of discrimination whilst right-wing political and religious conservatives reinforce black and white, oversimplified rigid gender roles and the threat to the established order that gay people represent in their own narrow and speculative perception. One would do well to ask "where is the middle ground"? When do the practical needs of security and combat effectiveness outrun intolerance for minorities? How do new and incoming personnel, especially officers feel on the issue? What do they think it will take to implement a policy of inclusion?

Costing the livelihoods and the self respect of thousands of servicemen and women (gay and non-gay) across the country and around the world the manmade (and poorly-named) disease of homophobia cuts a devastating path through organized systems of western culture both military and civilian. Discrimination against a valuable minority strips military families of rights taken for granted by other personnel, strips militaries of their best specialists in times of conflict and leaves units in the field less prepared to defend themselves. Understanding its epidemiology, history and constitution is a central task of this thesis. By examining where it began and identifying with some specificity the particular turning points in its development this investigation will examine homophobia as a modern social ill and inform potential means by which to treat it. This thesis will evidence environmental and sociological changes to the military community at large consistent with arguments to overturn DOD

Directive 1332.14⁷ and remove the need for policies that single out gay and lesbian service personnel for administrative harassment and discharge.

The issue-specific literature selected for review and the corresponding works referred to in this study trace a variety of changes in the sociological environment both inside and outside the military from historical, sociological and research frameworks. Discrimination on the basis of sexuality or other minority qualities is not looked upon or investigated herein as the issue of the period or the issue of the minute as it were but as an evolving phenomenon with a beginning, a middle period of development and (arguably) a decline. The purpose of this thesis is not merely to chronicle changes to a discriminatory phenomenon within a population but to understand its primary causes, to document or map its epidemiology and to define with some specificity the reason(s) for which it appears to evolve.

The American Hatred of Difference

While the dynamics of discrimination seem to differ between and across minority groups, certain elements remain constant. The journey from oppression to empowerment and social equality is never a straight line for any given oppressed minority, nor is it a journey that seems ever fully completed. Overcoming discrimination in the workplace through informed activism and demonstrated occupational performance is the result of arduous labour. It is not a simple process to explain nor is it one adequately described in the terminology or acumen of a single academic discipline. Discrimination is a concept that sociology alone cannot encapsulate. Like other policy-based cases of discrimination before it—understanding the American political establishment's war on gays in the country's military and understanding the culture of heterosexist discrimination that fostered it is a multi-dimensional

⁷ Directive 1332.14 within section 977 of United States Code (applied to Department of Defence in matters pertaining to personnel) details "Guidelines for Fact-Finding Inquiries into Homosexual conduct". The formal guidelines detail the prescribed (legal) measures by which military authorities can investigate and discharge personnel found to be gay or lesbian. For all intents and purposes the directive effectively criminalizes homosexuality in the eyes of military law. The procedural effects include trial by courts martial resulting in separation of an individual merely if the individual can be shown to have "the propensity to engage in homosexual acts".

engagement across a multitude of disciplines, a multifaceted inquiry with dimensions both inside and outside the bounds of pure sociology.

The Multi-disciplinary & Inter-disciplinary Approach

By virtue of this epistemology the multidisciplinary review of literature used to investigate it is equally diverse. Sociological scholars from the classical to the modern will frame broad concepts such as identity, social structure/regulatory regime and stigmatization. They will share space with scholarly contributions from the fields of linguistics, law, history, anthropology, psychology, theology, politics and other fields and disciplines in the search for the truth about discrimination based upon sexuality. The integration of these perspectives will narrow the operational reality of such concepts, illustrate examples of their manifestations and derive actionable data to inform effective social policy measures designed to level the playing field of America's and perhaps humankind's largest occupation environment; the military⁸. For the linguist, it is a question of how the construct of language is designed, structured and *engendered*, for the legal scholar, a question of equal protection under the law, a question of rights and liberties. For the theologian it is a question of scriptural interpretation, for the historian and the anthropologist, a question of cultures across the landscape of time. For the sociologist it is a balance of all these things and an understanding of the social science elements that underpin each and every. For this study it is an issue of identity against the backdrop of organizational behaviour within the context of stigma and social control. It is, in short, a sociological thesis but one which is informed by key contributions from cognate disciplines.

The literatures comprising this approach include eminent scholars of sociology, pillars of the psychological community, historians and anthropologists long dead and the recent submissions of pioneering students of social science in the military service academies, universities and research hospitals of America, Great Britain, Israel and beyond. From the leadership and selection of special

⁸ According to federaljobs.com the government of the United States is the Nation's largest employer. Within the scope of subcategories of employment within the U.S. Government the military is the largest subgroup.

forces personnel specifically chosen by *virtue* of their homosexuality from the populations of Ancient Greece and Feudal Japan to the punitive discharges of leading military occupational specialists under America's Don't Ask Don't Tell Policy, this thesis charts humankind's struggle to manage identity and to cope with difference.

While current research on the issue (including that of thesis student John W. Bicknell of the Naval Postgraduate School) has determined that "between 1994 and 1999, the percentage of U.S. Navy Officers who 'feel uncomfortable in the presence of homosexuals' decreased from 57.8% to 36.4%", such research does not go far enough to realistically substantiate policy changes (Lusero, 2006, pp. 3). It is not enough to evidence a modern, historically-evolved tolerance for gay and lesbian people alone. Though this thesis has been written to investigate that evolution, it has also been written to gain an understanding of *intolerance* for homosexual people. How is homophobia defined? Where has it emerged from and how it has evolved? What are the sociological factors that have shaped that emergence through history and perhaps continue to shape it today. This thesis provides a critical look at history, at cultures across the centuries for an analysis of how we arrived at this current state of crisis and where we might be headed.

Defining Homophobia

Any discussion of gay people in the military and their oppression as a minority should begin with an understanding of the concept of anti-gay resistance, or what some might term "Homophobia". As a descriptor, the word 'homophobia' is not the most well chosen. It is more a political buzzword than the psychological condition the term attempts to denote. The word "phobia" in psychological circles describes an intense or irrational fear that can severely limit the employment or other life activities of the sufferer. When presented with a small space (such as an elevator, underground car park with a low ceiling or other such space) persons suffering from *claustrophobia* can experience a racing heartbeat, shortness of breath and an intense desire to escape to a more spacious or less-confining circumstance.

Those who suffer from phobias (or phobics) are unable to explain the cause(s) of the feeling to others but the feelings are generally so strong that in advanced cases the manifestation can lead to physiological repercussions such as hyperventilation, light-headedness or fainting. Unlike diagnosable phobias (like claustrophobia explained above), homophobia has no such physiological basis. It does not lead to physiological repercussions.

Homophobia is different. Fear or hostility that one feels toward homosexuals (or more likely the fear or hostility that one feels *compelled to exhibit* toward homosexuals for the recognition of others) is a learned phenomenon. I say “feels compelled to exhibit for the recognition of others” because such a visible exhibition of hostility, fear or repulsion by homosexuals is often felt to be necessary by some. It may not be enough for certain people to *not* be gay. Often some people fear they must not only demonstrate their heterosexuality at all times but must shun or show revulsion toward homosexual people to punctuate or underscore that identity in the eyes of others. It is not a fear of homosexual people as much as it is the fear of having oneself labelled homosexual and suffering the same social isolation as one who is. It is not a “phobia” per se but the affective behaviour resembles a phobic response.

Psychiatrist Dr. Martin Kantor describes homophobia and the individual homophobe as the product of a complex constellation of psychological, psychosocial and psychiatric factors including personality disorders such as those who are “histrionic or prone to excessiveness”. They “get overexcited about homosexuality”, Kantor Writes, “because it touches one of their nerves like phobics get excited about dogs biting or bridges collapsing because it incites one of their personal fears,...or are afraid of flying because they have only read stories whose headlines speak of planes that have crashed” (Kantor, 1998, pp. 5).

The Historical & Anthropological Foundation

What historical events drive bias against individuals based upon their sexuality? How did discrimination against gays and lesbians first emerge in mainstream cultures? How did such discrimination become enshrined into law? To understand the shift in attitudes toward same-sex relationships over

the centuries, attention needed to be paid to civilian and military social environments from Ancient Greece and Feudal Japan as a starting point. Additional attention is paid to the construction of religion as a binding force throughout history. This includes an understanding of religion's ability to endure scientific refutation and retain its powerful impact on culture, on individual and collective identity development and on the structuring of social environments including the framing of law and policy issues from archaic times to the present.

Before the Evangelists: Ancient Greece, Rome and Feudal Japan

Anthropological and historical perspectives on gender, sexuality and military service are key competencies of this research. Without them, a researcher (or reader) will not understand the framework within which the conflict of Gays in the military unfolds in present day. Social Historian David Halperin's (1991, et. al.) in homosexuality in the context of early civilizations helps to establish this framework and allow the reader to understand the particularly violent challenges that early western civilizations faced from such enemies as the Persians. How such variations as sexuality were de-prioritized and how men's devotion to each other is celebrated and even harnessed as a vehicle to cohesion and unit effectiveness.

Much of the writing devoted to ancient civilizations was researched through translated classical texts such as Plutarch's *The Life of Pelopidas*". John Dryden's translation of the Ancient Greek text of Plutarch chronicles the development of masculinity among the Greeks of the Ancient Peloponnesus. Dryden opens the view to Greek Masculine Culture as emergent from its gender-segregated schools and the deep friendships and romances between men training for athletics and military service. These authors provide a view of organized human life, of civilization that accepts homosexuality out of a pragmatic approach to reality without the pre-emptive template of Christianity. This informs the readers' perspective on homophobia, on discrimination against gay people, indeed the very identification of people by virtue of their sexuality as a modern and theretofore unusual construct.

Anthropological sources were also used to investigate the traditional attribution of homophobia to the rise of diverse interpretations of Christianity. This includes the development of its comparatively extremist forms (like Evangelism). The development of Christianity is traced from the death of Christ and the writing of the first Epistle by Peter in the first century to the faiths' modern alliance with American Conservative Republican Party Policy Makers. David Halperin (1991) and Joseph Runzo (1986) provide a historical roadmap to the development of the faith. E. A. Judge's etiology of the Bible's prescriptive social and behavioural codes offered an informative source of understanding to explain certain sects of Christianity and their problematization of homosexuality.

Absent the intervening filter of early Christianity and the habitus that followed it the phenomenon of homosexuality is chronicled in previous eras of early civilization as a non-issue. Evidence of homosexuality and accepted homosexual cultures in early militaries, specifically those of Ancient Greece are substantiated through the archaeological and anthropological research of authors such as Louis Crompton (2003). Their work informs the basis for early social policy as explored and described by David Cohen (1991). The authors' respective translations of Plutarch and other Greek Scholars describe both the practicality of same-sex male love relationships in the field of combat as well as the inspirational poetry and powerful life-long romances between early history's most elite and gifted of warriors.

This comparative socio-cultural exploration of the history of homosexuality includes the pre-Christian world of feudal Japan as illustrated by Tsuneo Watanabe, Jun'ichi Iwata (1989), Ihara Saikaku (1990) and others. Gary Leupp's *Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (1997), and Gregory Pflugfelder's (2000) treatments of the issue illustrate the functional reality of homosexuality as a process of the natural world and an integral and accepted dynamic of early warrior culture. This long look back across the landscape of time and culture establishes a stable and time-honoured view of gay men, deeply respected for their valiant contributions to the military defence of their

respective civilizations. Author Randy Schiltz goes on the trace the decline of gay men in military service with his tome “Conduct Unbecoming” (1997). The selfless and overwhelming bravery of gay men and their many contributions to the revolutionary war, and the military challenges to the new young nation of the United States is chronicled in painstaking detail. The first American war with Libya in 1805 and the Barbary Pirates, to the Korean War and Vietnam conflict are also chronicled. The epic bravery and medal-winning service of many gay men is increasingly thanked with humiliation and expulsion as America enters the modern age, setting a tone for a future of discrimination.

A number of complex historical and political dynamics come into play in America as the battle for gay and lesbian equality heats up in the late 70s and early 80s. As the gay rights movement gathers steam after the Stonewall riots a growing minority show an unwillingness to remain closeted. The growing women’s rights movement with its forays into workplace equality sparked a right wing, ultraconservative backlash against gender and sexuality-affirmative (or “liberal”) politics. Authors Diane Richardson (1996) and Jeffrey Weeks (1986) inform the modern interpretation of Bourdieu’s concepts of masculine domination as applied to American society in the 1970s and 1980s.

The Republican Party, still stinging from the Watergate Scandal (and successive losses to the Democrats as a result) began to present itself as the return to “conservative” principles, even electing an aging classic film star (Ronald Reagan) as its spokesperson. Harnessing the power of right wing churches and televangelists with their massive congregations of (often elderly, under-employed or disenfranchised) home viewers, the Republican Partys alignment with pragmatic forces carried it to majority seat wins and unquestioned policy-making authority. The two-term president “straightened up” American law and politics for 8 years before his Vice President George Bush ascended to the presidency to quietly maintain the policies for a third term. Upon recommendation from the RAND Corporation, (researchers for the U.S. Department of Defence) authors Randy Shiltz (1997) and later Nathaniel Frank (2009) are among the lead authors informing this section of the thesis.

The Comparative Experience of other Minorities

Blacks

Comparative struggles inform the concept of stigma as applied to minorities (Goffman, et. al). The struggle for black civil rights was hindered tremendously by its separation from the white race in spheres of employment, education, housing, transportation and military service. Racial segregation, an enforced method of separating the races kept blacks and their community an enigmatic mystery to whites. Stereotypes developed and flourished in the absence of a concrete knowledge of just how similar the “other” race was to non-minority individuals. Without the opportunity to prove themselves to the white hegemony, fundamental opportunities for equal citizenship were completely missed. Equal access to the armed forces, the opportunity to serve *alongside* minorities reshaped the image of Black Americans held by whites. Marilyn Brewer and Norman Miller (1984) and their assessment of the “Contact Hypothesis” informs the way in which such reshaping might unfold theoretically.

The structured intervention of minority integration is a powerful and often anxiety-provoking transition for all involved carrying both political weight and human experience in equal complexity. An understanding of these interventions, their methods and outcomes is the key to developing an accurate picture of how other such integration processes *might* unfold. The ongoing cases of women and blacks serve as touchstone in this section. Books such as Morris MacGregor Jr.s’ *Integration of the Armed Forces* (1981) provide a detailed account of social and policy-based changes that integrated blacks into the American military. “*Freedom’s Soldier’s*” (Berlin, et. al.) provides an understanding of the segregated service experience of black soldiers during the American Civil War. The authors offer an insightful look at the experience of officers and enlisted serving at a time of pivotal change.

Women

Much of the senate armed services committee’s rationale for the ban on gays is based upon cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness and the perceived

discomfort of serving in close quarters with minimal privacy and modesty. It is in this respect that the issue does take on a dimensional component consistent with sex (male-female) differentiation and accommodation. The concern for interpersonal friction between homosexual and heterosexual personnel on a large scale in the military carries questions only answerable by a look at the integration of women into previously all-male units. Margaret Harrell and Laura Miller's purpose-built assessment of the integration of women into previously closed (male only) units of America's Armed Forces (in early 1992) examines the functional relationship(s) between groups in a comparatively paradigmatic way.

Harrell and Miller's 1997 study seemed an appropriate point of departure from which to explore the qualitative issues arising from the integration of sexual minorities in the military, specifically issues relating to gender and culture such as modesty and impacts to unit bonding. I felt such might establish (at least in part) frames of reference for a how a policy of gay and lesbian acceptance might unfold in the current military community. This is combined with male discomfort with engaging (socially/platonically) with women or superiors fearing retaliation for disciplining female subordinates in the occupational environment. These are in short issues that fall largely outside the traditional definition of discrimination and outside the traditional locus of control in terms of legal intervention.

Gays & Lesbians: A Modern Military in Crisis

Randy Shilts 1993 book "Conduct Unbecoming" and Nathaniel Frank's (2009) "Unfriendly Fire" skilfully chart the modern evolution of military law and policy directed unreservedly against the Gay Community throughout the nation's history. This detailed inventory includes the codification of the discriminatory policy in DOD Directive 1332.14 (Enlisted Administrative Separations) in 1981. Directive 1332.14 made it illegal for service personnel to be gay and began the investigation and discharge proceedings of thousands of servicemen and women. So far-reaching was this application of the policy and so massive the career destruction it fostered that for the gay community nationwide it became a platform issue for Bill Clinton's presidency in 1992. President

Clinton's promise to end the ban and the powerful resistance he encountered from the opposition resulted in the forced re-closeting policy (commonly referred to as "Don't Ask-Don't Tell") that hinders participation of the minority in military service at present.

Shilts' book goes on to catalogue the fearless and exemplary service of gay men and women from the revolution to present day. He chronicles the inspiring lives of many of the bravest and most dutiful who risked life and limb on a daily basis leading some of the deadliest and most daring service missions in U.S. military history. We see men and women contending with more than the horrors of war, but also the distraction of hiding who they were from peers and superiors, a task we shouldn't force upon anyone, let alone those who risk so much in the name of their country, people who (most would agree) should not be distracted.

Perhaps even more effectively than most, Shilts "Conduct" details the horrifically costly "purge" missions of the military services in the 1950's. Such missions were not primarily initiated by military authorities, but by individuals with an axe to grind. These missions would be supported up the chain of command. Such witch hunts resulted in the loss of such iconic leaders as the Navy's top medical doctor in Vietnam, Tom Dooley and several others. Conduct Unbecoming paints a picture of a nation struggling for identity against a faceless foe it did not understand (Communism) whilst drowning in its own smothering devotion to conservative theology. In vain attempts to strengthen their nation, frightened leaders relying on such poorly applied tools as the new, underdeveloped and wildly twisted interpretation of the "science of psychiatry"⁹ ended countless careers and destroyed lives whilst leaving a nation conflicted and a military badly damaged.

⁹ The 'Science of Psychiatry' refers to the conception of early psychiatry (1940s) as a 'science' in the broader rhetoric of socio-political control and manipulation of minorities (Kirk, 1945, et. al.). The declaration of homosexuals as clinically disordered was technique widely used to remove the basic rights and freedoms of gays and lesbians.

Exacerbating or aggravating influences are also a key feature to the conflict. Nathaniel Frank's "Unfriendly Fire" details the legal cases that the Department of Defense pursued against active duty officers and military academy cadets. It illustrates the development of a unique, needs-based relationship between the Republican Party and right wing religion in America, namely the Evangelical Churches.

Frank's exhaustively researched 2009 book details little-known elements of the United States Military's harassment of Gay people and the circumstances that illuminate much of its development. Problems of military discipline and ignorance and deficient leadership are to blame for much of the problem. Examples include the lack of military discipline at Fort Campbell under the "anemic" leadership of a Major General that led to the murder of Barry Winchell¹⁰. Frank's assessment clearly shows a culture of hate against homosexuals that was actually cultivated by its Major General who allowed threats of anti-gay violence to be openly voiced without challenge, to be sung about in cadence songs and allowed walls to be smeared with anti-gay graffiti.

Shiltz and Frank's work, as well as dozens of legal briefs, amicus briefs and case transcripts from separation court proceedings over the decades have evidenced a number of patterns reflecting a lack of support for the idea that the presence of gays and lesbians harms unit function. The outspoken support for gay and lesbian colleagues by non-gay members of their units, the superlative assessment of their service by commanding officers is testified to for the court record time and again. Occupational performance, even at the apex of competence is often eschewed, even ignored by the court when the individual is found to be gay or lesbian. Much such testimony can be found in the transcripts

¹⁰ Winchell, a 21 year old gay soldier stationed at Fort Campbell Kentucky (US) was beaten to death with a baseball bat by another soldier as he slept in his barracks on base after months of homophobic harassment. The executive officer of the base (Maj. Gen. Robert T. Clark) was found to have "demonstrated a profound lack of leadership" allowing a culture of homophobia to be cultivated at Ft. Campbell. The event illustrated that anti-gay harassment is "condoned in our armed forces" as well as the danger of closeting personnel and forcing them to "suffer in silence or leave the military" (John Files, "Hearing on Promotion for Commander of Slain Gay G.I. Is Closed", The New York Times, 11 Oct. 2002).

of court hearings, and hearings in the United States Senate on the Issue over the years.

Examples include the 1993 United States Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Case of Joseph C. Steffan (Appellant) v. Les Aspin Secretary of Defence et. al.. Steffan, a Naval Midshipman six months from his graduation at Annapolis Naval Academy was forced to resign his commission and was denied being awarded his degree for answering (truthfully) “yes Sir” to a superior officer’s questions “are you a homosexual?.” Steffan’s “exemplary performance at the Academy had earned him numerous honours and the respect and praise of his superior officers”. “Most notably” the court recognised that “he was selected in his senior year to serve as Battalion Commander, one of the academy’s ten highest ranking midshipmen”. Also entered on the court record was that “He had received consistently outstanding marks for his leadership and military performance” and that “his instructors considered him ‘gifted’ and, an ‘outstanding performer’ who had exhibited excellent leadership. He was praised as an asset to the Academy and was selected as the Regimental Commander of one half of his class. He was regarded as “a model for his classmates and subordinates” (Steffan v. Aspin [1993], 8 F. 3d 57).

Other examples include the board of inquiry and discharge proceedings of LT Tracey Thorne upon discovery of his sexual orientation. As evidenced by the board of inquiry transcript, Thorne’s performance was cited by his commanding officer as meriting “an outstanding achievement award in academic and physical training in the Naval Aviation Schools Command” thereby justifying his placement “on the commodore’s list¹¹”. Additionally the conduct of LT Thorne in his “responsibilities with respect to the physical security of the squadron” earned him “outstanding commendations in each case” (Board of Inquiry, 1994, pp. 89/90).

¹¹ The “Commodore’s List” refers to Naval Academy Academic honours in much the same way that “Deans List” denotes achievement in civilian universities. Cadets and trainees elected to the Commodore’s List by virtue of physical and academic achievement represent the top five percent of their class.

Court cases are not the only instance where such affirmative testimony appears. The United States Senate Committee Hearing on Armed Service (2010) made a case study of (former) Lieutenant Jenny Kopfstein, herself “a Naval Academy graduate”, who had “served on Active Duty in the Navy for nearly 3 years.” Kopfstein had “revealed her sexual orientation to her commanding officer during her first shipboard assignment. Apparently, knowledge of her sexual orientation had no impact on her duty performance, as she was sent on a second deployment in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. She earned several awards and honours, and was promoted during her service. Significantly, two of her commanding officers testified at her separation hearing that, while they understood she was a lesbian, she was an excellent officer who should remain in the Navy. Despite that testimony, Ms. Kopfstein was discharged under “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” in 2002” (Testimony relating to the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Policy, 2010, pp. 2).

The Sociological Foundation:

The work of Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu and other eminent sociologists lays the conceptual foundation for individual, group and inter-group behaviour. Texts such as Elias’ “The Civilizing Process” (et. al) and Pierre Bourdieu’s “Masculine Domination” (et. al.) introduce the landscape of sexual differentiation across the ages. This foundation also includes the socio-culturally prescribed map by which males and females interact with each other (both within and across sex lines) and the ways and means by which the landscape of difference is navigated by a vast lexicon of complex and multi-faceted symbols. Upon this foundation, sociologist Anthony Giddens weaves a framework or template of social institutions (including that of organized religion) which concretize “ideas and values produced by human beings in the course of their development” (Giddens, 1993, pp. 464). Giddens and others establish religion as a human invention, a compass of ethical and moral direction, a means of decision-making in the absence of ready evidence.

From Norbert Elias’ explication of the civilizing process (1978), Michel Foucault and Stephen Dover (1996, 2006) explore the dichotomization of sex, of gender and of sexuality in Western Culture and the hazards associated with being

classified as “other” or possessing qualities inconsistent with one’s archetypal gender as dictated by the “established order”. Foucault’s “Carceral Network” theory is used to explain the penal structures tacitly applied to the lives and liberties of individuals based upon sex and sexuality and the integral affects such structures have had on social life. Steven Seidman (2006, et. al.) and Diane Richardson (1996, et. al.) further explore these structures as bases for both the societal-imposed minority (gay, lesbian and female) deprivation and the 19 century social activism (Stonewall, et. al) to challenge it.

Driven by the psychologies of need, basic human needs for safety and understanding, much of Giddens work and that of social scientists like Sigmund Freud inform the man-made concept of a universe with paternalistic “authority” figures at its centre. The goal is to explain the meaning of life and the purpose of humankind in a rugged and threatening world and to establish a code of conduct, including relations between the sexes, the subjugation of women and the definition of ‘gender appropriate’ behaviours. Diane Richardson’s work in “Theorizing Heterosexuality” among others helps to bring this chronicle forward and to define male homosexual behaviour as feminine behaviour and thus unacceptable to dominant principles of classical masculinity as defined by Bourdieu. This work, combined with Elias and Bourdieu’s concept of “Habitus” explains humankind’s enduring deference to absolutist theology as a cornerstone of discrimination against sexual minorities. Richardson’s work is consistent with that of Pierre Bourdieu (2001) (Masculine Domination et. al.) who introduces the concept of the feminization of the male (through penetration by another) as a means of “condemn(ing) the ‘victim’ to dishonour and the loss of the status of a complete man”. Sexual penetration is viewed as an exercise of power, while “submission” to such penetration is regarded as “a symbolic abrogation of power and authority” (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 21). Such oversimplification, especially in the turbulent social gender and class wars of the nineteen sixties and seventies set the stage for a conceptualization of homosexuality as destructive to the established order, as an insult to the fragile concept of masculinity and even tantamount to femininity or feminization.

The Concepts of Identity& Social Structure/Regulatory Regime

The concepts of identity and social structure/regulatory regime get significant handling as this project opens. A thorough understanding of the concepts are important to establish the ways and means by which they permeate individual and group consciousness and how they function as contributing factors in discriminatory or 'homophobic' environments. One's identity, specifically the identification of one's self with others in their primary environment, the (perceived) mutually-exclusive domains of masculine and feminine and the archetypal emphasis of group likeness and group prototype theories are explored. The work of Michael Hogg (2001, et. al.) frames the concept of group identity. Hogg's work as well as that of Goffman (Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, et. al.) introduce the gendered way of perceiving and navigating the fragile construct of masculinity.

Conceptualized through the work of Anthony Cohen and Herbert Blumer (1986) is the issue of community and how community is demarcated by an array of complex and often oversimplified symbols. Blumer's Symbolic Interaction and the "peculiarity" he describes "in the fact that human beings interpret or define each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions" underlay much of the interactive framework of homophobia. This includes internalized homophobia and the difficulty that individuals and groups encounter in coming to terms with minority sexuality from an identity standpoint (Blumer, 1969, pp. 79).

The published work of Steven Seidman (1996, 2006) introduces the oppositional identity development of male *heterosexuality* as largely dependent upon the success of the women's movement in the early twentieth century. Seidman chronicles the development of the (poorly-named) concept of homophobia as one of many heterosexual male responses to female incursion into traditionally male-dominated environments such as employment and university. Equally important is what Seidman calls the self-perceived "feminization" of the male workforce in its migration from manual labor requiring physical aptitude to office work requiring consensus and "cooperation" (Seidman, 2006 , pp. 146). All such factors appear to culminate

in a defensive, reactionary and exclusionary “us versus them” posture amongst the heterosexual male community.

Diane Richardson’s work (1996) in (hetero) sexuality and social theory informed the means by which the prevailing norm of male heterosexuality imposes structure and meaning to social life. Given the heavy template of heterosexuality and its implications for everything from identity development to public policy, I felt some attention must be paid to its foundational influence. According to Richardson, Heterosexuality “encodes and structures everyday life”, thus defining socially acceptable relationships as male-female and those outside the male-female dyad as ‘other’ and “alien” (Richardson, 1996, pp. 1).

The Subjects: The Environment & The People

As a subject (and not just a location) of research inquiry, the military environment and those who populate it differ greatly from “society” at large. Like the cadets surveyed, focus-grouped and interviewed, the military environment is a subject of this inquiry as well. A fundamental flaw of much research, even current military sociological research is the impetus to frame the inquiry through a classic (civilian) societal lens (as will be explored later in this thesis (via Brown, et. al.). The military is different. The uniformity of everyday life, the hierarchical nature of group and individual relations and indeed even the nature of the work itself create an almost self-regulating ecology that separates a military unit from other spheres of organized social life. As such there are implications for members of the community and implications for group functioning that affect the manner in which group processes, discrimination and interventions to correct it unfold.

Separated by such things as service branch and specialty, military personnel are unique in many ways and in many ways share consistent and common qualities among each other as a community. Cadets, Soldiers, Sailors, Marines and Airmen do not choose each other as unit mates. They do not choose the tools, the location or even the methods or guidelines by which they work. They do not choose a system of community values. Such things are assigned to

(or imposed upon) them. They are closer to players on a sports team than they are to a staff in an office. They are closer to a family at home than to a group of students in a classroom. The intimacy of life and work, the dynamics of shared identity and shared space, of ordered cohesion and collective assessment-all these elements contribute to a unique system of group existence with its own unique ecology. This ecology relegates the individual's values, their priorities, their personalities and even their attitudes to a secondary position behind the central purpose of the unit. Acknowledgement of this dynamic is a unique and abiding aspect of this assessment.

The Constructs: Cohesion, Morale, Unit Effectiveness

Like the concept of identity, the concepts of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness are broad terms in their own respective applications. The terms are used frequently in military training publications and manuals as well as in military field research (Gal, Mangelsdorff, et. al., 1991) and have been defined and redefined frequently over time with consistent threads throughout. As this research seeks to inform military policy-makers, the terms will be used consistent with meaning(s) assigned to them by military authorities, or those researchers most relied upon by writers and editors of such publications. For the purposes of this research, the concepts of cohesion and morale are framed in the context of *how they contribute* to unit effectiveness.

Guy Siebold, (in Britt, 1999) researcher with the U.S Army Institute for the Behavioural and Social Sciences quotes Cota et. al. (1995) in charting the "evolution" of the concept of cohesion throughout social psychology and military science journals across the decades. According to Siebold care should be taken in "...recognizing cohesion as a multidimensional construct with primary and secondary dimensions. Primary dimensions are applicable to describing the cohesiveness of most groups, whereas secondary dimensions are applicable to specific types of groups" (Siebold, 1999, pp. 6). It is this assertion that directs researchers to focus on cohesion specifically in military groups, i.e. their perceptions of their own unit cohesion in the context of their working environment. Care will be taken in this study to elucidate specific aspects of and examples from the military environment that exemplify how it

differs from the civilian environment with respect to how those differences foster cohesion.

The concept of morale has equally diverse definitions in social and individual contexts. Like cohesion, however, it will be for the purposes of this research defined consistent with military applications. Colonel Reuven Gal (1986) of the Israeli Defence Forces, a researcher and frequent contributor to both Israeli and American military research journals and publications boils the concept and its many interpretations down most succinctly as “the state of mind of the individual-his dedication, eagerness and willingness to sacrifice”. Gal also cites the “social phenomenon” of morale as “the group’s collective enthusiasm, sometimes called “*esprit de corps*”, or its persistence in pursuing common goals under adverse conditions” (Gal, 1986, pp. 549). Survey and focus group questions will be framed within this operational definition.

The Shift from Attitude to Environment

The construction of research tools to both focus and frame the fieldwork and extract useful data from current military personnel and UOTC cadets was the subject of intense scrutiny and review. Heterosexual *attitudes* toward gay and lesbian individuals have been routinely regarded as the barometer by which occupational environments may be shown to support them. Professor Gregory Herek of the University of California Davis has constructed the ATLG (attitudes toward lesbians and gay men scales in 1988, the standard measure of attitude that the heterosexual population holds toward gays and lesbians. Colleges and universities will use these scales quite often to gauge acceptance of the minority.

Assessments of the occupational environment of the military are often based upon assessment of individual attitudes of military personnel. Like other studies individual attitudes toward minorities (in this case sexual minorities) tends to become the primary lens through which the group is viewed.

Armando Estrada’s use of Gregory Herek’s Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale for the field work of his doctoral psychology thesis at the University of Texas El Paso (1999) is one such study. 72 members of the

Marine Corps Reserve (all male) were sampled for the Estrada study. The scales were administered as directed by Professor Herek. Particularly useful was Estrada's inclusion of Likert scales assessing attitude relative to identity. The results of Estrada's field work are useful if not somewhat predictable with notable exceptions. He asserts that "attitudes were not uniformly hostile to gays in the military". Additionally he does find a strong majority of his sample (69.2%) "...agreed or strongly agreed with a statement that 'It is all right for gays and lesbians to serve in the military as long as I don't know who they are'" (Estrada, date, pp. 5). Additionally, "...participants expressing more negative attitudes tended to, have had no contact with a gay or lesbian person. This data confirmed for me that a significant layer of the problem lay in the concept of identity. The" invisibilization" of this particular minority allowed stereotypes to be cultivated and to flourish. The ability to hide from the truth or to hide from the acknowledgement of one's own co-workers identity/minority status was comforting to participants, an ability not afforded them in the case of other minorities (e.g. women and ethnic minorities) in equal measure.

Anecdotal evidence from hearings and congressional briefings (e.g. June 2005) indicate that 'closeting' or *not being up front* about one's sexual orientation presents a greater problem for servicemen than being open about their sexuality. According to a press release by the Palm Center at the University of Santa Barbara concerning the testimony of openly gay combat engineer Robert Stout; "In a June Congressional briefing, Stout reported that he as well as several other gay soldiers in his unit had revealed their sexual orientation to members of the unit, and that they had not encountered problems. The only gay soldiers who had been subjected to harassment", Stout said, "were those who had not acknowledged their homosexuality candidly" (Lusero, 2006, pp. 4). Such testimony evidences the fact that (mandated) dishonesty and deception about the truth of individuals' lives does not make good policy.

Estrada, Bicknell and countless other students at the post-graduate and doctoral levels have all used the Herek scales as proof of a thesis in part or in whole, even when applied to military populations. Where I believe the assessment value of the Herek scales falls short is context. The questions

assess attitudes about gays and lesbians largely in the civilian context (e.g. whether or not the participant agrees with the opinion that gay men should be allowed to teach school or whether they would be disappointed if they discovered their own son were gay, etc.). While such impressions and attitudes are valuable in the gauge of public policy or political issues in civilian life, this measure is of limited effectiveness in a military context. There is much more impinging upon minority acceptance, vis-a-vis cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness in the military occupational environment than merely individual attitude.

While attitude may be a driving factor in civilian work environments other sociological or socio-structural factors are present in the military environment that can far outweigh it as a driving factor. Among those factors are leadership, work processes and the primacy of dangerous, even potentially life-threatening aspects of the job itself. While most civilian employees arrive for a 38-to 40 hour work week, commute to their jobs and leave the workplace behind at the end of the day this is not the reality of military life. The urgency of military occupations, the importance of doing an effective job, of being relied upon takes priority over other smaller less significant social elements of life. The importance of what race, ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation a crewmate might be shrinks significantly when one is faced with the realities of the military occupational environment. One need look scarcely further than the discharge case transcripts (as discussed before) or the exit interviews of service personnel to support this conclusion.

This conclusion reflects truths about the intimacy of military work groups and male communities in particular as explored by Plummer (1976, 1981). Evidence of this dynamic suggested the need for a broader, more holistic assessment process. It also suggested the need for an assessment tool that not only explores the individual attitudes of personnel but also one that is conscious and observant of the dynamics of the military occupational environment itself and the structure that environment imposes (or indeed can impose) upon individuals, on groups and on the work they do within it. Cohesion of groups in military environments by and large is not a phenomenon

based solely on mutual affinity or friendship alone but one imposed upon the group from a higher authority and anchored in the interests of progress toward established and mutually-understood goals. The urgency of such goals, both in training and in professional work is such that a level of contact (*qua contact hypothesis*) takes place prioritizing unit effectiveness (or teamwork) over individual respect (or lack thereof) of personal difference.

Factors overcoming attitude: The Nature of the Work

Whether one is an infantryman in the direct line of fire doing house to house searches in an urban combat zone, a mechanic checking seals on an engine pump in the base motorpool or a intelligence officer examining field data a continent away there is a primary thread that runs through all occupations in all places at all times. This thread is that which dictates that some aspect of the work product in which one is involved may contribute (directly or indirectly) to the likelihood of survival or (conversely) serious injury or death of fellow service personnel. The work of Reuven Gal of the Israeli Defence Forces, and sometimes co-author researcher Frederick J Manning supports this empowerment of the directive elements of the occupational environment *over* personal differences such as race, religion, gender or sexuality, an empowerment or values system better elucidated by the original survey tool designed for this research.

Leadership, Structure & the Contact Hypothesis

Another factor of military life that overrides individual attitude is the factor of workplace leadership and structure which differ significantly at times from non-military work environments. The latitude to *not* work with a co-worker if one chooses does not exist in the military as it does in civilian life. The rigidity of the structure supports an impetus toward the achievement of group goals to the exclusion of individual preferences. For the military occupational environment this quality creates a value structure with the job at the top and little to no room for non-essential differences of opinion along social or political lines. This pragmatism, when effectively harnessed by leadership and authority figures within the occupational environment can control (to strong degrees) the effect(s) of bias among subordinates. When the working group is

subjected to loss of privileges (promotion, time off, etc.) due to inefficiency (for bias or for not acting as a cohesive team) they tend to settle in to the practicality of the job without incident. It is this consistent interactivity and the primary importance of progress toward mutual goals that allows inter-group contact to take place and the contact hypothesis to be proven. The critical leadership role that officers provide at the middle management level is the central reason that officer cadets were chosen as the primary sample.

It is precisely this directive quality of the military environment that makes it so perfect for the reduction of intergroup prejudice by way of contact. Military training, military operations and the lifestyles of military personnel are tailor-made, they are the formula by which intergroup contact unfolds. The basic formulaic version of the contact hypothesis (via Allport) had four elements: (a) equal status, (b) common goals, (c) institutional support, and (d) a perception of similarity between the two groups (in this case minority and non-minority).

(a) Equal status- all personnel of a certain rank are conceived of as having equal authority. A rank of lieutenant second grade and the respect accorded is the same whether the rank holder is male, female, white, black, latino or otherwise.

(b) Common goals- All personnel within a given occupational specialty (MOS) have a common goal. All members of a transportation battalion have the common goal of keeping personnel, equipment, weapons and ordinance moving. All members of a medical battalion have the common goal of meeting the medical support needs of their respective regiment etc. The dynamics of 'common goals' and the 'equal status' conferred by the hierarchy contribute to the perception of similarity.

(c) Institutional support- The military is a top-down organization. The top most rungs give orders to the lower rungs and so on. The arrangement of superiors and subordinates as endemic to military culture, understood accepted. Additionally and perhaps more importantly a lack of respect for one's immediate superior is often interpreted (generally) as a lack of respect for the entire system of command. The rigidity of the hierarchical structure enforces equal status and the perception of similarity.

(d) Perception of Similarity- with all of the above factors in place members of a military working group, regardless of MOS have had similar training see themselves as having a shared experience

Reducing intergroup prejudice according to pioneering psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) “may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e. by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups” (Allport, 1954, pp. 3).

Individual opinions and attitudes are still a large part of this assessment. After reviewing the inquiry priorities of Professor Herek’s scales alongside the sociological dynamics of the military environment however I felt it was more than simply the socio-political attitudes of individuals that needed proper assessment. The military occupational environment itself, both as a subject and as a factor of the research deserved assessment attention as well. It was in light of this analysis that I chose to examine a number of environmental assessments to balance those attitudes alongside the over-arching pressures and directive dynamics of the environment itself. It was from this point that I decided to design an original research tool with a greater awareness of the occupational environment in which it would be deployed.

The Evolving Military

Opposition to military integration of many minorities has utilized the same argument for decades regardless of the minority slated for inclusion. Opponents hold that the armed forces are a traditional environment, not appropriate for social change or experimentation. However the history of America’s, and indeed Britain’s armed forces is itself a history of change. The military is no longer an arena where white men of a certain class go to prove their masculinity and independence in early adulthood. It is no longer only a tradition of certain families. It is, in truth a pragmatic environment built on mutual expectation, mutual benefit for participants and an opportunity for job

training and employment for many who have no other alternatives. As such it has become a fighting force of minorities, with expanded roles for women and the ever-widening participation of first and second generation immigrants. It has become a place populated by a broadening range of individuals who understand and appreciate individual differences. The work of Eric Oullett (2005) and David R. Mets, et. al (2003) evidence the changing demographics of the modern military force.

The move toward integration-related policy in the armed forces is routinely a slow process. Politicians and even military leadership are somehow always quick to assume that 'issues' (meaning problems) will emerge if a minority is integrated into the forces. Problems of sociological, or group psychological functioning can and have been routinely misattributed to race gender and/or sexuality when in fact such problems were better described as "generational". In the review of literature for this study on the potential integration of gays and lesbians, I chose to examine a large-scale inquiry assessing the military occupational environment following the integration of women into units previously closed to them. I felt that this would help to inform the reader of potential generational changes and the perception of problems where close living arrangements, and very intimate work environments are common (e.g. surface fleet, submarines and special forces).

Research (post 1992), especially in areas of gender (Harrell & Miller (1997) et. al.) have elucidated the differences between gender issues and *generational* issues in their study: *New Opportunities for Military Women, Effects Upon Readiness, Cohesion and Morale* by the RAND Corporation prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defence (United States). At issue were the age of enlisted personnel studied and their aversion to following orders for task-completion, and insubordination that senior officers attributed to women inappropriately. "Because women are overrepresented in the younger generation", writes Harrell, "... generational differences were occasionally reported as a gender problem" (Harrell-Miller, 1997). The Harrell-Miller study also identifies the depth and breadth of analysis to which the government examines issues of this nature. It informs not just how the environment

functions after the integration process, but also seeks to inform how lines of complaint should work (asking personnel of both sexes to whom they would prefer to complain to if a problem arises across lines of sex and gender lines-etc.). This aspect of the study informed similar approaches to this one.

This is but one notable contour of the problems encountered in assessing this community. Changes to the military environment including its evolving personnel demographics and even its changing role on the world stage alter irreversibly both subject(s) studied and the context of their interaction. While the environment of military service remains as it always has a complex and (often) dangerous place where the work of national defence and foreign combat is painstakingly completed, the work itself and the personnel who complete that work have evolved significantly. The sophisticated and highly technical process of 'nation-building' begins immediately after the bombs stop falling and before the combat troops are even withdrawn. This demands an increased reliance on greater numbers of infrastructure and other (technical) specialists (civil, electrical and computer engineers, accountants, managers and medical personnel) and others drawn almost entirely from the *reserves* of the military. These men and women, most often from University ROTC/UOTC programs have not spent the majority of their day to day lives in the military but have lived a more integrated existence across civilian and military environments. The majority have never attended segregated schools and have grown up alongside friends and acquaintances in their primary, secondary, post-secondary and university social circles that are openly gay or lesbian. Most of the literature reviewed for this study evidence or infers this changing dynamic.

Military Sociology: A discipline in Context

The review of literature for this study reflects that there is more to Sociology and indeed to the sociology of the military than simply the social science mechanics of military personnel as a self-contained community. The public funding of the military services, their nightly vignettes on the evening news, the fact that virtually everyone has a friend, relative or acquaintance *in* the military widens the dialogue on every issue to which it relates from missions to

equipment. It seems that one needn't have a military background to have an opinion as to how the military should operate and what it represents to them. This nation-wide resonance, whether on issues of body-armour or troop abuses toward prisoners of war makes any news about the military widely read and widely discussed. This highly publicized nature of military life, including reporters embedded with units in the field) changes the nature of issues presented (including policy issues) by striking an immediate and deeply opinionated chord with the nation's populace.

The work of Christopher Dandeker of King's College (London) and his colleagues (1996) analyses the issue of sexual minorities in the military in both the sociological and social-science frame as a research issue and in the political frame as a social policy and a government regulatory issue. To inform a process of successful integration both approaches must be understood. The issue of how unit members relate to each other and how they relate to the job of soldiering is vastly different from the issue of how civilian politicians and the courts must view it and the means by which outside agencies would be called upon to intervene. Dandeker's (1996) review of Gender Integration (female service personnel) suggests several points of departure from which to consider the integration of gays.

Conclusion

The issue of minority sexuality in the armed forces is without any shade of doubt a complex and emotionally-charged issue of identity, stigmatization, law, policy and society. Like racial and sexual (male/female) integration before it, the issue affects in equal measure the character and perception of the individual, of groups and that of the nation as well. While similar circumstances and phenomena are noted in the evaluation of race and gender initiatives, it is clear that navigating the issue of integration in terms of sexuality simply by relying on the same threads as that of race and gender is a largely naive approach that cannot create a complete picture.

Focusing merely on the social science aspect without taking into account the political, historical and even religious dynamics of the issue leaves the

researcher equally blind to critical points that must be explored. The research gaze must not simply rest on individual attitudes but must also maintain a sufficiently-informed eye on the environment itself as a driver of social phenomena. For the purposes of exploring the issues presented in this research, the literature reviewed provides an effective inventory and assessment of current, theoretical, and historically-informed literatures from sociology and across a range of pertinent disciplines. It identifies a discrete set of research goals as well as a definitive map for their successful achievement.

Chapter 3

Methodology I: (Theoretical) Social Science and Law

Introduction: Complex Instruments and Muddy Feet

Relationship between sophisticated Theoretical Framework & Grounded Theory Approach

It should be acknowledged that this thesis has two methodologies, one that elucidates the project's philosophical and theoretical perspectives and a second that underpins the practical, hands-on methodology used to gather evidence. The *theoretical* framework, located within the classical sociological models of exchange and total institution described here demonstrate an enduring respect for the higher research objectives involved in this study. Eminent sociologists (Bourdieu, Durkheim, Goffman) have invested significant life's work in identifying such complex and sophisticated concepts as masculine domination, exchange theory and total institution. However, their work might seem to rise in odd opposition to the *practical* framework, i.e. the comparatively rough simplicity of grounded theory by which they are applied. In essence the method of this investigation depicts an elaborate theoretical vision that gains traction through the simplest, most *pedestrian* of means.

While this might seem an unusual combination on its face, the two systems work kinesthetically together in a necessary harmony much the same way as the crude hand-hewn seams and base materials of a sandal seem to contrast rudely with the elaborately curved complex of impact-absorbing arches, metatarsals and phalanges of the human foot. Within the sandal's primitive framework of leather and wood, the poetic articulated matrix of the human foot seems almost out of place, the marriage of the two a peculiar mismatch. That is until one examines the role *of* and relationship *between* the two metaphorically and thereby examining the hypotheses of this study alongside the data it seeks to achieve and considers the route via which the researcher must tread to arrive there.

On a springtime journey of assessment across England's UOTC Army Battalions, obstacles unique, complex and numerous are encountered. Bureaucracy and

law, confidentiality of information, the stewardship and duty of gatekeepers are just a few aspects of this complex and muddy terrain. This is to say nothing of the *actual* mud itself, lots of mud in fact, much of it well over the ankles and all of it very cold. To appreciate the binding structures that tie these men and women together is to appreciate that bureaucracy, that confidentiality, that intimacy and certainly in no small measure that cold wet mud as well. All work in harmony to create that total institution, that environment, that system of interaction and the reality of its circumstance that creates the social structure under this microscope.

All of the structures that bind these men and women together are conceptualized and enumerated through the highest cognition of some of sociology's greatest minds. *Considering* those structures, and indeed planning the process of evidencing them requires scholarly examination of dozens of texts old and new, theoretical and applied yet *experiencing* those structures, documenting them in a meaningful way for the reader requires the simplest and most practical approach. Like the foot, the investigators' research design must allow movement in a sensitive and articulated manner nimbly and flexibly crossing a variety of social and physical environments creatively and effectively evidencing complex theoretical concepts. Like the sandal the simple tool of grounded theory allows varied legal, operational and physical terrain to be effectively negotiated, substantial barriers to be overcome and the complex research tools used to be effectively deployed.

The relationship between the complexity of the foot (exchange, total institution etc.) and the simplicity of the sandal (grounded theory) is one of equal symbiosis, a simple vessel that carries an instrument of great complexity. The military training environment and those who populate it are unique. Their simple and direct methods allow them to achieve complex objectives in rough environments just like the method I have designed to assess them. From the conceptual/theoretical approaches to the practical, hands-on muddy feet approaches of grounded theory both elements reflect and complement the interests of one another. This is the relationship between the sophisticated theoretical and the grounded theory approaches, a uniquely hybrid approach to

research demanded by a uniquely complex and demanding problem of workplace integration.

An Effective Compass: Sociology, Social Policy & Law

The debate over gay people serving in modern military forces is now a large public policy issue, involving thousands of people and complex dynamics of gender, privilege and domination. As a conflict it is now so long-lived, so culturally and historically evolved and so widely contested across such a variety of disciplines from social science to law that mapping it (via the review of literature) was a formidable task. In exploring problems and issues which resonate in and across many social science disciplines, it is necessary to construct an effective compass. In this chapter that compass, or the theoretical orientation of the study will be drawn. This will allow the reader to understand the theoretical bases behind the researcher's choice of methods and hence understand the way in which data was generated, managed and analysed. It will also allow the reader to grasp the implications of the research, to map how such implications will unfold across the disciplines of sociology and social policy and ultimately how the evidence will be evaluated.

A conclusive and functionally predictive understanding of military (predominantly male) communities such that policy may be conceived and written to address their needs is part and parcel of this research process. This study seeks only to grasp an understanding of the relationship between identity and social structure deep and broad enough to inform an applicable policy of minority integration as its comprehensive product. The pattern(s) of this investigation, both in terms of social science and policy analysis share theoretical underpinnings consistent with those of both sociology and social policy hence the reason that this department at this university was chosen as the vantage point from which to explore them.

The University of Liverpool and the city it calls home bear witness to a time honoured history of empowerment on the part of the working class. From the slavery museum at the Albert Docks to the scars of wartime aerial bombardment and civil unrest (e.g. the Toxteth Riots) scattered throughout the city it is a

community politically fortified by more than a century on the front lines of conflict and as a battle zone for activism on workplace equality. Civil rights movements at large often begin with moves toward equality in the occupational environment. It is here that organized labour has made its stand to ensure justice for generations of Britons. The School of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Liverpool opens the window on a view, a perspective unavailable from other universities, but how do sociology and social policy fit together in this instance, and why must both be consulted in service to this research?

To understand social policy as a driver of social behaviour and its implications for codified law applied to a population, one must consider scientifically and theoretically more than just the role of the social sciences (i.e. the function of groups and individuals within a community or society). One must also consider scientifically and theoretically the role of law and policy as well. What are the traditional powers and limits of both social science and those of law? How does one effectively inform the creation and use of the other? Both concepts must be conceived of methodologically from multiple angles via multiple methods to create data that will sustain cross examination or cross-verification, especially on a project as potentially controversial as this one.

When one approaches the issue of minority discrimination, especially a system of discrimination as longstanding as that directed against gays and lesbians, one begins to understand that it isn't about a simple separation of people as might have been the underlying case with blacks and with women. Many individuals in the western world, even many of those in its most conservative and religious sectors is personally acquainted with a gay or lesbian individual. They have routinely appeared openly on television and in the wider media with increasing frequency for more than three decades. Exaggerated myths about their being characteristically different from non-gay individuals have long been debunked. What is clear is that neither societal rejection of the gay and lesbian minority nor the maintenance of laws that discriminate against them is about a sustained widespread interpersonal dislike for them by the majority non-gay society any longer. So why does this discrimination persist? Why are societies, especially

large (arguably) “modern” western societies like the United States and (until recently) Great Britain so reluctant to abandon anti-gay prejudices? The easiest and often most popular answer is the ultraconservative religious right wing (predominantly American), its ever-expanding Evangelical base and the ensuing grasp on the throat of America law and indeed the body politic that this base holds or is assumed to hold. Whilst often-used by advocates on both sides of the human rights issue the religious right wing’s modus operandi and its actual effects upon social interaction and law are scarcely qualified in any real detail.

In the arena of global human rights and gay and lesbian human rights in particular the informed sociologist recognizes a broader ecology of pressures impinging upon the issue than merely those resulting from the template of religious consciousness and fundamentalism. Closer inspection of the issues surrounding gay and lesbian oppression throughout history reveals a wider pattern of social dynamics involved. The outspoken opinions and the ambitious lobbying actions of the religious right are a factor but they are merely one rationale, one reason that individuals and groups can give in the absence of a grounded rationale for discrimination. Religious fundamentalism is merely a vehicle for such bias, it is not the driver.

Religious fundamentalism and its stranglehold on American political mechanics as large as it may be is but a tiny island of “religious” hatred in a sea of overall social and relative economic current that pervades this conflict. The idea of maintaining societal discrimination against the gay and lesbian minority resonates with a more basic orientation, one that resides in a deeper space within the nation’s psyche than just its “religious” conscience. This is the space in which the phenomena of sociology and the bias of social policy become intertwined thus the principle reason this study examines both side by side.

Minority discrimination has at times been of epidemic proportion in industrialized nations and elsewhere, a problem that deserves serious and informed investigation. To understand why and the mechanisms by which non-minorities discriminate against those of difference it is important to examine the very basic social mechanisms and structures of humanity, indeed the reasons for

which populations gather and communities form in the first place. This includes an understanding of the exchanges that take place between individuals and groups within those populations in the process and the crucial individual psychological and even practical/physical needs often attached to those exchanges. Understanding how these structures and processes of social exchange came to be manipulated to facilitate discriminatory practice is important in developing a process by which these same dynamics of distribution and exchange can (just as easily) facilitate its successful reversal.

Using sociological dynamics to facilitate the reversal of discrimination through policy is a daunting process to say the least. It requires the researcher to effectively predict and even model the likely behaviour of perhaps thousands of individuals, including those individual's response(s) to a potentially large shift in policy. Informing such a process as a researcher is tall order analytically speaking and one best informed with an up close and intimate analysis of a force that has recently undergone such a change. A more detailed understanding of the choice of Great Britain as a research model follows in the second half of the (practical) methodology section. Primarily this section examines the rationale behind the choice of sociology as the discipline from which to explore the issue and more specifically the theorists within that discipline and the integrated theoretical orientation adopted to frame and guide the inquiry.

Discrimination is a complex phenomenon to explore within the equally complex domain of organizational behaviour. It is a task made only more complex when the organization in question is one of such size and diversity as that of the military forces of a modern industrialized nation. My own training as a professional psychologist and my tenure as a clinician treating veterans in the hospital setting quickly established for me the power of interaction with individuals in groups, the intervening variables emergent therein and hence the limits of psychology as a discipline in terms of successfully making such an inquiry in a meaningful and policy-oriented way. While individual psychological function and behaviour can and do play roles (examined and explored through the likes of Freud and Eriksson) such phenomena are merely a few of the many stones to break the surface of this issue and affect the ebb and flow of social currents

within the ecosystem of the military. Individual psychology however is not the central driver behind discrimination in this environment. The effective understanding of these currents is visible more clearly through the lens of sociology.

Capturing the Stone and the Ripples

Understanding the tide and currents of sociology with regard to the mechanics of organizational behaviour and discrimination is aim one of this thesis. The theoretical line of inquiry that guides this portion of the investigation ('Stigma', 'total institution'¹², 'the division of labour', 'social structure', 'identity', 'solidarity' etc.) is largely a function of the work of Erving Goffman and Emile Durkheim. It is their work that will theoretically frame the structure of social interaction in the military environment, as well as frame the specific methods of assessment used. The social policy and law portions of the thesis will follow a complementary theoretical line of inquiry. Key elements of the relationship between sociology and law will be identified and explored including the affect of (codified) law upon social behaviour. Durkheim is widely published and read in the disciplines of both sociology and law, and has been so for generations of case law and policy making (in the United States at least). The consistency of his work in both disciplines is mutually resonant within both as well. It is his work that will theoretically frame the effects of the directive elements of social policy and law upon the structure and the occupational environment of the military. Given the fact that sociology and social life comprise the broader dimension of the study, indeed the need for and foundation for law, this theoretical chapter will address sociology first.

Theoretical Framework: The Current of Sociology

Why People Associate with One Another

From the scattered Indo-European tribes of early millennia forward throughout the history of humankind individuals have been bound to each other and to

¹² The 'total institution' is a concept introduced by Erving Goffman in 1968 to refer to "institutions" sequestered from the general population with characteristics that "provide a barrier to social intercourse with the outside, ...often built into the physical plant such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, (etc)" (Goffman, 1961, pp. 16). This concept is applied theoretically and practically to this thesis' treatment of the military environment as will be elaborated on in relevant sections.

groups for a hierarchy of reasons. Neither the achievement of basic necessities such as food and safety nor the higher goals of belonging, self-esteem and even the self actualization that comes with the higher cognition of problem solving (found in Maslow's hierarchy of needs¹³) are solitary pursuits. The individual aspiration to achieve and indeed the progress of humankind as a species have long been dependent upon individuals' association with others for the most basic of common and interlocking purposes. In short, such necessities require solidarity with others, an association rooted in Durkheim's "moral reality", a dynamic or dimension of society.

It is this need for association with others and the acquisition of community that creates the "social object (society)", an entity (which) "has some sort of priority over the individual". The concept of 'society' is regarded "largely as an unexamined one in sociological discourse", a term whose usage (in breadth and scope) few scholars agree upon. From definitions ranging from the discreet application of "nation state" in political and geographic discourse (Giddens, 1987, pp. 59), to that of the smaller, more intense interactive milieu of cognitive behavioral psychology, the term refers to more than simply a collection of individuals. It presents in literature as a seemingly living organism encompassing individuals within it and yet independent of them at the same time, a collective consciousness with the power to direct activity on the part of both individuals and groups.

The influence of society includes the manifestation of social phenomena or currents of conscience with collective and directive dynamics impacting the behaviour of individuals, groups and populations. Building on the "Social Physics" of Comte (Urry, 2004, pp. 109); Durkheim used his smallest volume (Rules of the Sociological Method) to establish that "social phenomena,...have a constraining influence upon the individual" and that "Man cannot live in an

¹³ Developmental psychologist Abraham Maslow (1970) presented a diagramed pyramid of human needs widely understood to provide the basis for behavioural motivation. According to Maslow "people generally value (and will seek) sustenance of the body, protection from pain or danger, and facilitation of pleasure in preference to other activities that do not serve this end. When biological needs are largely satisfied, social needs are pursued. Finally people tend to pursue even 'higher' values of beauty, self-actualization, creation and transcendence of identity barriers" (Miller, 2002, pp. 285).

environment without forming some ideas about it according to which he regulates his behaviour” (Durkheim, 1938, pp. xiii/14). The behaviour-regulating effects of society and that of structured social environments are key themes of this research (as previous chapters have explored).

Durkheim, Merton, Parsons

Durkheim’s theories of social structure were criticised, labelled as “structural functionalist”, and questioned in their validity by modern sociologists, the likes of which included Robert Merton¹⁴ and Talcott Parsons¹⁵. Parsons dismissed them as “simple congruencies of categories” (Parsons, 1998, pp. 300). However, Durkheim’s assessment of society “...as a powerful, self conscious entity controlling the behaviour of its individual members” is a practical and resonant theme in military environments (Pope, 1975, pp. 361). The highly structured nature of the military environment and the regulatory regime that emerges therein is attributable to the circumstances surrounding it. So given the limitations it imposes upon individuals, why would an individual seek to be a part of the military, or even a part of society to begin with? How do the benefits of membership outweigh the limitations of association?

It is widely understood that membership in society affords protections to the individual as well as opportunities for advancement unavailable to the individual in isolated life. Societal or community membership infers both opportunities and restrictions that function to structure life and relations between individuals and groups. It is a conceptual measure of give and take between the individual and society. The individual submits to social and behavioural norms (e.g. customs

¹⁴ Merton cautioned his audience against the prospect of accepting reductive depictions of social behaviour as if encapsulated within a singular social structure as too limiting and summative, preferring instead a more dynamic approach to assessment saying “it is not enough to refer to ‘the institutions’ as though they (structures) were all uniformly supported by all groups and that “some deviations may be regarded as new patterns of behaviour, possibly emerging from subgroups at odds with those institutional patterns” (Merton, 1968, pp. 176).

¹⁵ In his 1998 book ‘Economy and Society’ Parsons criticises general social systems theories at large, specifically those that attempt to draw parallels too closely with economic paradigms “the goal of the economy is less general than societal goals”, He wrote “Economic theory cannot be the theory of processes in a total society, but only those of a differentiated subsystem of a society” (Parsons, 1998, pp. 300).

such as politeness, cueing for service etc.) and gains access to opportunities to fulfil their own needs. The customary restrictions that society places upon the individual's behaviour, including social obligations are often couched in the wider concept known as "structure: regularities or stable patterns". Such patterns, according to anthropologist Chris Barker (2006) can establish "the rules and conventions that organize language (langue)" as well as "recurrent organization and patterned arrangements of human relationships (social structure)". Barker goes on to establish "Structuralist understanding of culture is concerned with (these) 'systems of relations', (as) "an underlying structure that forms the grammar which makes meaning possible (rather than actual performance in its infinite variations)" (Barker, 2006, pp. 449). To a far greater degree than civilian culture patterned arrangements of human relationships are an integral part of the regulatory framework of military culture.

The Division of Labour: Emile Durkheim

Humankind's understanding of society, of structure, of group dynamics, of group chemistry, of individual acceptance and of problems resulting from association have changed significantly over time. In and of themselves they are (at least in part) largely dependent upon the culture in which such groups are situated for definition. Such changes are based upon world events, philosophical movements and even the emergence of evolving social research itself. The communities of early civilized life were composed of small "Indo-European" tribes. From plains, to steppes, to mountains the world was populated by indigenous peoples whose physical characteristics and basic way of life did not differ substantially from those around them. Navigating difference often involved complex ritual. Travel to other regions, even other hillsides was impractical and unnecessary. For the average individual in Ancient Greece, a civilization regarded as advanced even for its time, contact with cultures that differed fundamentally from one's own was a rare phenomenon if such happened at all. This (comparatively) isolated existence offered a very limited world view. As a result the theoretical conceptions of social structure, even those of the most highly regarded thinkers of the age were equally limited.

Aristotle's work "Nicomachean Ethics" provided the foundation for the view of social life in which much of the western world (including most theorists used here) would have been educated. Such devices operated on a dynamic of contrasting terms such as "difference and sameness" with a pronounced emphasis on sameness. The western world, however, would change dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century in ways that would challenge these simplified paradigms, for Durkheim and for many others. The Aristotelian instruments of "eudaimon life", of the "philia" (a broader, more encompassing term than that deduced from its modern English translation of 'friendship'), comprised the common terminology with which generations of Aristotle's students would have navigated and understood social life (Warne, 2006, pp. 108). While such simple and one-dimensional qualities as likeness and difference were once thought to be the key to mutual acceptance and group formation, the passage of time would make this template obsolete. The evolution of human society and the technological advances that accompanied it would challenge humankind's basic ability to make sense of community merely on the paradigm of likeness or difference. Individuals and groups would migrate and travel, would learn, and would come to rely upon others seen and unseen for the attainment of needs and goals.

The migration of peoples from isolated rural to more densely populated urban areas in search of employment, their crossing of boundaries within and across social structures was a phenomenon witnessed with increasing frequency in Durkheim's lifetime. Drawn together out of a mutual and abiding need (the higher socio-economic classes' desire for labourers, the lower socioeconomic classes' desire for employment and basic physical sustenance) this migration would expose communities heretofore unaccustomed to each other in a startlingly intimate manner. Differences between communities were stark, and often obvious, cultures and values systems equally so. Though the dynamic(s) that brought them together would challenge the human concept of "community" conceptualized by the likes of Ferdinand Tonnies, according to Durkheim, the process "...would not have as its function the integration of the social body to assure unity " (Pope, 1975, pp. 365).

The migration and increasing proximity of people in the context of the division of labour, their exposure to individuals different from themselves is not presented as an idyllic phenomenon by Durkheim or his subsequent readers throughout history. Durkheim himself refers to a band of problems associated with this unification of society, a cadre of complexities that he names as “collective immorality”. Among these he lists “suicides” and “crimes of all sorts”. Echoed in President Kennedy’s 1962 speech about the negatives of human civilization (fear and ignorance) increasing alongside the gains of human advancement, Durkheim understood the perils of this move toward unification and foresaw problems resulting from it. “If we make this experiment”, he wrote “it does not turn out creditably for civilization, for the number of morbid phenomena seems to increase as the arts, sciences and industry progress” (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 50).

As Durkheim himself (and likely others) predicted the movement and resettlement of populations, the mingling of cultures, the exposure of minorities to otherwise homogenous communities was a demanding adjustment with painful and often deadly clashes that resulted in significant and sustained consequences. The conflicts of racism, sexism and homophobia have echoed for decades throughout case law and policies designed to maintain the economic and social privilege associated with archaic social structures marked by simple likeness. The eradication of social privilege and liability based upon such minority differences has been the central focus of modern civil rights movements for decades. The migration from the traditional society (based upon likeness) to the modern society involving a greater diversity of people demanded collective cooperation between, within and across groups with an increasing frequency even in Durkheim’s lifetime. From the annexation of Schleswig Holstein¹⁶ to the

¹⁶ The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein is presented here as both a marker of time and as an example of intercultural ambiguity/schism with regard to social policy, law and structure. The Duchy of Schleswig, a fiefdom located on the Jutland peninsula bordering the German region of Holstein is the landbridge that connects Denmark with Germany. The annexation process (between 1848 and 1864) and the political wrangling to establish a compromise of integrated strategies for rule exposed competing ideologies of governance and gender-based entitlement (or primogeniture (i.e. “right of succession and order of succession”) between Denmark and Germany. Both respective nations had differing views on the subjective nature of royal succession, specifically the right of royal males to hold priority of ascent to the throne over royal female siblings and the rights of such males to rule *through or by virtue of* a female line accorded by the “bills of enfeoffment” (Falck, 1847, pp. 4/5). The issue brought to the fore a discussion of sex, gender and privilege not previously explored.

waves of immigration between European countries (to each other and to America & Australia) in search of employment to name just a few shifts changed the concept of community as many had come to know it. The paradigm shift highlighted significant qualitative differences between cultures. It also reframed the concept of solidarity, transforming it from the binary notion that characterized it in Ancient Hellenic culture into the multifaceted system of interaction to which the term applies today.

It is from this collective orientation that the division of labour unfolds in its explanation of the individual's relationship to society. This systemic vision of collective social life differed from prevailing concepts of association that until Durkheim's time served as the primary frame. Widely accepted by present day social scientists, the concept of the division of labour represented a paradigmatic shift in the conceptual vision of human interaction, one significantly more complex, expansive and practical than previous structures such as those identified by Aristotle.

It is perhaps more direct and conclusive to say that the division of labour in society, pioneered by Emile Durkheim overturns completely the Aristotelian doctrine of semblance as a basis for relationships. Emile Durkheim was separated from Aristotle by more than mere miles or centuries. Waves of national urbanization, international immigration and the rapidly-evolving apparatus of industry and technology forever altered the landscape of human interaction as Durkheim was able to experience it. It is the affect of "modernization" on human social behaviour, the dynamics "defined as patterns of social life linked to industrialization", or "the process of social change initiated by industrialization" that would alter forever the structures by which people would come in contact with each other. The division of labour in society, as a theoretical concept and as a way of life had begun to unfold.

As societies and civilizations grow and evolve, they encompass a wider differentiation of groups. Such societies cannot rely on basic likeness as a tether to each other to handle the more complex challenges of an increasingly modern world. A more functional interdependence binds them together based upon

their separate but interlocking talents, needs and abilities. The division of labour “...combines both the productive power and the ability of the workman, it is the necessary condition of development in societies, both intellectual and material development” (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 50). Responsibilities are delegated, labour is divided by specialty. The division of labour in society or the separation of groups by practical occupational specialty is the central characterization of larger, more modern societies. Such groups are mutually dependent upon each other for the achievement of goals in the modern world.

The decision to adopt exchange theory within the broader scope of Durkheim’s division of labour as a theoretical framework has been made on the basis of military occupational environment dynamics I personally observed over my years in field assessment, including a year with the United States Air Force and three years with the British Territorial Army. The decision is also the product of elements of organic solidarity reflected in early survey data generated for this project as will be discussed and enumerated later. As a means of naming and understanding the circumstances and terms by which groups or by which societies form and operate, the elements of solidarity associated with Emile Durkheim’s division of labour are very appropriate to the assessment of group behaviour in the military context. Unlike civilian society or civilian groups where success can often be achieved through individual work and independent functioning, the military is by its very nature more collective. Success in the military is most often measured by the strength of its collective or communal workings. Objectives are achieved or lost, rewards gained or punishments assessed on the basis of group success or failure. The evaluation of individuals, even (at times) their very survival is based upon their ability to work cohesively as part of a unit.

A battalion, a detachment, a unit or any segment of a military force with its unity of purpose, its common goals (effective unit performance) and the (often) life or death imperatives it can face ultimately facilitate an exaggerated solidarity by default. While individual upbringings, attitudes and opinions of minorities can vary considerably, even across the smallest of units, the structure of the military

environment is a unique control mechanism to reduce if not ultimately eliminate the affect of such bias among members.

Unlike the casual latitude for discrimination that civilians enjoy, the practical environment of the military offers no such freedom. An individual's dislike for others of different races, sexualities or personal qualities is systematically deprioritized in favour of greater attention to more urgent issues affecting that individual and the group to which he or she belongs. For Emile Durkheim, the principle value of the division of labour is..., its effect on the underlying solidarity of the society, namely the "restraint" it places on the individual in light of that individual's responsibilities to the group. Durkheim referred to this solidarity as the "salutary pressure of society that moderates his (the individual's) egotism", and as "everything that forces man to take account of other people, to regulate his actions by something other than the promptings of his own egotism". This is where the civilian world's threshold for discrimination ends and the solidarity of the military's total institution begins, where the structure of social life and the principles of exchange (via rational choice) force individuals to interact in service to common objectives on a level playing field to the exclusion of discriminatory bias. The individual's responsibility to the unit, to the group, or the "ties" they perceive as having are very strong in the military living and occupational setting. This exchange guides behaviour and interaction, including interpersonal bonding, creating powerful ties between the individual and the group. "The more numerous and strong these ties are", according to Durkheim "...the more solid is the morality" (Durkheim, 1997, pp. 331, 335).

Determining where written law/social policy and social science converge is no easy process. Simply because an authority determines that people are equal on paper does not make them so in social life. However, the dynamics that make the implementation of policies of inclusion such a natural exercise of authority in the military are exactly the same set of dynamics that make policies of exclusion so problematic. Examining the durability of a policy of inclusion in the military is a different procedure entirely from that of examining such a policy in the civilian world. Civilian life is an exercise in many things but it is not an exercise in equality.

From waiting in line for meals in a mess hall, to relying upon mates in a hostile zone under the threat of enemy fire, soldiers know what it means to be subject to the same rules. They also understand the critical importance of everyone else knowing that. In short, they know what it means to be equal. Explaining the two-tiered system of rules, and the complex protocols involved in Don't-Ask-Don't-Tell in the military instructional setting leaves a presenter with a lot of faces contorted in confusion and for good reason.

In the regimented minds of officers and enlisted personnel graduating from basic (where everything is done as team) the idea of one soldier being treated differently from another based upon a single inborn characteristic does not readily compute. "Attention on deck" means everyone. There is no differentiation on the basis of minority status. Any policy that leans on the side of equality is a natural reflex consistent with the environmental dynamics that military personnel are likely to find themselves operating in. This is one of the characteristics of solidarity.

Solidarity

"There were 200,000 Russian troops based permanently in Poland and a million more on our borders. And they had weapons of mass destruction as well. We knew all about that. But we were determined not to go back to work. They could kill us but they could not defeat us. They could disperse us but they could not force us to work. So in fact the Communists did not have very effective weapons to use" (Lech Walesa, 29th August 2005 Interview with BBC).

In 1976 workers at a Gdansk shipyard inadvertently changed the world when they united to support their colleagues who lost their jobs for striking against conditions imposed by the Communist Government. Weak in their number but iron-clad in their collective resolve they compared the strength of their own shared situation with each other against the colossal forces aligned against them. It was an ideological standoff. Serious consequences faced those who stood alone, but standing together put the Soviets on the defensive. With no weapons

and nothing but each other and an understanding of their ability to achieve as a group, they stood shoulder to shoulder and overturned the single domino that was the Soviet domination of Poland in 1980. When it fell it did so in a line that eventually swept across Eastern Europe forever altering the face of European Politics. Such are the practical mechanics of solidarity, a key concept that underlies the operational success of groups against great odds and one that plays a significant role in this study. "Solidarity refers to union or fellowship arising from common responsibilities and interests between members of a group, class, nation, etc. or to a feeling of community with others. Solidarity usually implies a feeling of loyalty, and preparedness to share resources with the members of the group" (Fitzpatrick, et. al. Ed.s, 2006, pp. 1328). Even in times of lesser or no conflict, the pride and sense of security that can stem from visibly unified signs of solidarity can shape individuals within a community. As such it requires some degree of investigation as to how it will be understood, and assessed.

This natural interdependence of a society is known as organic solidarity, a concept so named due to its conceptual similarity with the body and organ systems. Like basic physiology, the theory of organic solidarity assumes, not a uniform alignment based upon mere likeness but a broader, more systemic homeostasis of community, a natural cooperative relationship that unfolds between individuals and groups of individuals. It is solidarity based upon mutual dependence between individuals as a result of their necessary differences, an exchange described by Johnson, Dandeker et. al. as "a delicate balance between collectivism (or the principles of generality) on the one hand, and individualism (or particularity) on the other (Johnson, et. al. 1984, pp. 172).

How that solidarity is achieved and developed, the quality of it and its use for practical gain (most notably its affect upon work process and output) has been a central topic of complex and important research from many similar and adjoining disciplines for centuries (Weber, et. al.). How and where such solidarity begins is equally complex and important. For the purposes of this thesis the theoretical orientation of these methods is a testable arch that bridges pillars of solidarity (social, organic, contractual) on a foundation of social exchange with Durkheim's Division of Labour as its effective keystone.

Exchange Theory Applied: Collective Goods

Associative relationships such as those implied in one's membership with a UOTC Battalion exhibit many of the characteristics described by the principles of exchange theory. The process is described in terms of economics simply for metaphorical purposes of understanding however the distribution of real benefits (both economic and higher) is clearly evidenced by the interactions of the unit. "The exchange process is based upon reciprocity and begins with the performance of a behaviour by "Person" which is rewarding for "Other". If 'Other' desires to continue the association in order to obtain additional rewards, he is obligated to perform a behaviour which is at least equally rewarding for Person. This in turn encourages Person to reciprocate and so on. Thus interpersonal associations are initiated and maintained because they are perceived as rewarding" (Kviz, 1978, pp. 220). The esteem of peers and the satisfaction of being a part of something larger than one's self is merely the first of many rewards a cadet receives for successful selection into UOTC. By the time the novelty and gratification of that primary reward begins to cool, additional rewards spring up in a potentially life-long succession.

The Officer Cadet who pays close attention in training gains the mentoring and care of senior cadets, under officers and instructors who see their investment of time pay dividends for a more effectively functioning unit. The reward for the cadet is increasingly higher levels of performance on training assessments, the esteem of peers and supervisors and even the advancement of rank and responsibility. This practical exchange process is ongoing and pays dividends for all involved. Even in cases where financial compensation and career advancement associated with good performance are not available, the less tangible dividends of personal gratification that come from being a part of something larger serve as powerful motivators.

Professional officers who are without families of their own have the personal satisfaction of mentoring and contributing to the social and occupational development of a young adult professional in a paternalistic or big brother way. They also have the satisfaction of watching a family interact, a family of effective

teammates that they themselves helped to create. The Cadet who may be without effective parental or sibling figure(s) in his or her life will reap the benefit of the exchange in a similar fashion.

The singular cadet's relationship to superiors and to unit mates, the relationship of all to each other and the resulting benefits exchanged and shared follow the paradigm of collective goods and collective action. "In the purest sense, collective goods are characterized by two basic properties. First the consumption of collective goods is nonexclusive, meaning that their consumption cannot be controlled or regulated so as to be limited to certain individuals while excluding others" (Kviz, 1978, pp. 221). Once the individual is involved with the battalion, they can, in many ways assume much of the benefits of higher performing peers in their respective units even though the motivation to perform at one's best is always integral to each cadets' consciousness.

"The second essential property of collective goods is that they are characterized by jointness of supply. This means that the consumption of a collective good by any individual does not reduce the supply of the good which is available for consumption by others. Thus a collective good may be consumed fully and equally by all consumers" (Kviz, 1978, pp. 221). A trickle down affect is also experienced by younger officer cadets serving under the senior cadet or under officers of the battalion who are mentored in this fashion as well. They will enjoy the benefits of their unit's superior functioning in terms of their own self esteem and the esteem that peers hold them in.

A PSI (Permanent Staff Instructor) or senior cadet's successful development of cadets under their command reinforces their motivation to train others consistent with this second property. This is the dimension of personal gratification upon which a price cannot be placed. It is a self-reproducing wellspring of intergenerational sharing and development. It is perhaps this quality that to an even greater degree than any other keeps a military force continually strong.

Society & the Individual: Impression Management

How individuals present themselves, respond to and communicate with others is motivated by forces outside the individual by feelings that (according to Durkheim) “have been impressed upon us to a much greater extent than they were created by us” (Durkheim, 1938, pp. 5). This is a function of society and society’s affect upon the single individual. The pursuit of social capital/currency (as discussed in the chapter on identity) is a principle driver of behaviours involved in the individual’s presentation of self to others.

The regulation of one’s behaviour, specifically the individual’s attempts at the “control of the conduct of others, especially their responsive treatment of him” is a dimension of impression management.

The individual’s natural drive to associate with others, to be accepted into the group and to enjoy the real and perceived benefits of membership is among the most powerful drives an individual encounters. This drive toward acceptance is met by certain gate-keeping requirements on the part of the group. It is incumbent upon the individual newly entering the community to figure out the social norms of the group, to identify (with the validation of others) where he or she fits in, and what behaviours are appropriate. It is a negotiation that requires the individual to perhaps manage their beliefs, to accept a new values system, to reconcile or do away with their own individual biases or to even perhaps alter their presentation of self in an effort to control others perception of them to successfully achieve acceptance by the group in which they seek membership.

For many individuals successful entry into a group is life changing. The military prides itself on the transformative experience of ‘becoming a soldier’. It is not just a job but a lifestyle or “an adventure” as some marketing has depicted. As applies in varying degrees by individual it is not just about doing something different with one’s life, but about *being* something different. On the road to successful integration at the individual and group level this is where the dynamic tread of identity gains traction. It is a change that the individual welcomes, even pursues in an actively compliant manner as fieldwork for this study clearly indicates.

This strive toward individual acceptance by the group can include many things from a simple change in dress and speech to an overall sea-change in the management of one's life and world view, a reprioritizing of values that puts the unit ahead of the individual. In terms of the British Model of integration- i.e. the no-tolerance policy for discriminatory behaviour as this research has found it also includes the discarding of the individual's bias toward other genders, races or sexualities. It is in this way that the individual's successful entry into the military is often a largely irreversible lesson in plurality. The British Territorial Army's policy of no tolerance for bigotry is one cornerstone of their success as a harmoniously diverse community. It is however only one part of that success. Another part of the success is the policy's inherent understanding of the military environment, its social structure and thus its ability to harness the dynamics of environment to the enhancement of cohesion, morale and unit-effectiveness. Being a part of the unit, an equal part is a status of the highest value to the individual. In short it is all that matters. There is no greater privilege to be had or to be sought. Therefore if the simple demonstration of an abiding and mutual respect for one's unit mates is a mandatory expectation, a behaviour required of those who seek that privilege it is a small price to pay for entry.

It is a tacit and expected part of the routine, part of the uniform expectations discussed in the identity chapter. Over time, like the respect for hierarchy, the presentation and care of kit and uniform it becomes ingrained in the individual as second nature. Interviews with cadets, psis and adjutants evidence the inculcation of this expectation and the way in which it becomes part of individual and group identity. This is essentially the cure for anti-gay bias in the military environment, if indeed it can be said to even exist.

The Military as a Total Institution

"We do not tolerate the idea that a contract, contrary to custom or obtained either through force or fraud can bind contracting parties"
(Giddens, 1972, pp. 135)

Soldiers by and large naturally support each other in the framework of the military occupational environment pursuant to the unwritten requirements of identity and those of the regulatory regime of the social structure found there and in the face of practical environmental realities requiring teamwork. This is the nature of organic solidarity. However the military is a more than a social structure with a time-honoured purpose. It is an institution, not just of tradition and of mutual expectation but of concrete expectation and regulation. It is a total institution with additional written requirements that are consciously imposed upon individuals by authorities. These requirements include “obligations, ...of an eminently positive nature” “constituting a reciprocity of rights and duties” (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 206). It is, in short a regulatory regime.

This ‘reciprocity’ to which Durkheim refers establishes with deliberate specificity a definitive structure, a man-made, consciously-constructed framework upon the social structure that (for lack of a better word) naturally emerges. This ensures that elements and qualities of that social structure, and the goods and benefits that such structure produces can themselves be reproduced. The degree to which the man-made structures (of law and policy) may integrate and enmesh with those of endogenous social structure is the second line of enquiry explored.

The degree to which morality (i.e. the rules of conduct with which people interact) can be legislated and the extent to which regulatory regime can cultivate a social structure by design for practical purposes is the social policy part of this thesis. The marriage between social science and policy is a closely examined paradigm. In addition to the immediate give and take of social exchange, the relationship also carries a prescriptive quality. The relationship, the way in which individuals within the structure relate to one another whilst retaining its social character also becomes (according to Durkheim) a “juridical operation” of “properly contractual character” (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 207). The resulting policy-guided behaviour integrates what Giddens calls “restitutive sanctions” (Giddens, 1972, pp. 135).

This is the relationship between the mechanical and the organic, two types of solidarity effectively binding the community together. Strong fraternal ties exist

between members of the military community based upon “shared experiences, common values and similar professions” definition of mechanical solidarity (according to the Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology), commonalities which only serve to intensify the already powerful organic solidarity that occurs based upon the diversified specializations necessary for group members’ completion of duties and even their own physical safety.

Framework: Social Policy & Its Effect upon Law

While not all groups may traditionally cooperate by choice of their own volition, community, regional and even world/international events may at times demand that they cooperate on certain terms in certain environments. Military and industrial settings are classic examples of such environments. The laws and policies defining the nature and conduct of interaction are a classic example of terms. The apparatus of law and the instruments of policy are examples of the terms defining this (oft-times forced) cooperation (at least initially). A central focus of this thesis is an understanding of how law and legal enforcement of a functional relationship affect the quality of it. The adoption of law and policy carries tremendous implications for the prospect of maintaining or overturning discrimination, especially in a structured environment so driven by regulation as this one. In short this thesis will show how the outlawing of discrimination, the adoption of so-called ‘no-tolerance policies’ and the acceptance of those policies at all levels is the critical foundation of any successful minority integration process.

Law as a social control mechanism is by no means a new concept. Emile Durkheim, a leading sociologist with “an interest in legal phenomena” according to MDA Freeman in his 2001 *‘Introduction to Jurisprudence’* The scholar of international law evaluates Durkheim’s seminal work *The Division of Labour in Society* as “a typology of the evolution of law which had a profound effect on subsequent sociological and anthropological thought”. “It was Durkheim’s thesis” wrote Freeman “that law was the measuring rod of any society. Law, he thought ‘reproduces the principle forms of social solidarity’ (Freeman, 2001, pp. 666-7). Law and policy establish or help to establish behaviour and interaction in structured environments.

Can a change in law and policy affect the way in which people perceive and respond to each other? Can it overturn discriminatory practices? The questions are simple but the answers are not. It is not simply the law that changes people's minds. It is moreover the application of law to enforce proximity, to structure interaction between minority and non-minority groups and individuals that allows those individuals and groups the quality and length of exposure to one another to understand how negative stereotypes can be wrong. It is not about individuals and groups being told that stereotypes are wrong. It is about structuring interaction in such a way as to allow individuals the opportunity to learn for themselves that stereotypes are wrong.

The establishment of law, regardless as to how strong the level of agreement or disagreement entailed in its formulation before it is passed ultimately does carry broad expectations of compliance by those governed by it when it is passed. The desegregation of American public schools ultimately required armed enforcement of the Army National Guard by President Dwight Eisenhower in its initial implementation stages. The adaptation of students to the racially integrated environment at Little Rock Central High School in Arkansas was not an immediate or easy process, especially for the first 7 African American students enrolled there in 1957. However, the ethnic and cultural diversity of America's public schools are now tacitly expected realities of all who attend and have been for decades. The public education system of the United States and the lives of students attending it have been enriched by this process of desegregation. The lifting of the gay ban from America's military, like the racial integration of its forces and its public schools (in the past) is also a process long overdue and the same rules apply.

The method (described in the methods and the identity chapter) of examining the inherence of identity and its nature as relational to others within the social structure shares significant dynamics with the concept(s) of "Analytical Jurisprudence" of Austin, Holland (et. al.). This is especially true of the "...material of law, i.e. the social and economic relations of men". As humans beings sort and order each other as a function of their social structure, the

human constructs of law and policy facilitate (by design) a method of sorting and ordering of their own. Optimally, such methods are consistent with the imperatives of that social structure, a means of behavioural guidance harmonious with that communities' own natural rhythms and dynamics. The general orientation of this method (according to German Legal Philosopher and Jurist Rudolph Stammler) is "a posteriori. It is based entirely on the material presented in the positive law, which it proceeds to arrange and classify according to principles of classification suggested by the subject matter and the use to which it is to be put. The definition of law itself is based upon a comparison of the positive law, as it exists in statute and decision, with other departments of human thought and action to which the word law is applied, such as the laws of physical nature, the laws of ethics, morality, honor, etiquette, the law of a game, etc." (Husik, 1924, pp. 373).

The theorists (Goffman, Durkheim et. al.) are traditional civilian analysts yet the population to which their treatment of sociology is here applied is characteristically different. The dynamics of human social behaviour are essentially the same, yet the environment could scarcely be more different. The extent to which circumstances, qualities and characteristics of military social life differ from those of civilian social life are not to be underestimated. The very social structure is different, a fundamental reality of this study that must be understood and accepted by the reader before the reader's progress toward conclusion can be made.

Of Law & Social Convention

When examining the social/occupational environment of the military in the context of integration from a legal standpoint, a number of theoretical systems apply. For the purposes of this thesis the scope will be narrowed. In a time of significant, even sweeping change in policy the military forces of the United Kingdom have ultimately lost the power to discriminate against the gay and lesbian minority as a result of a small but decisive band of cases presented before the European Court of Human Rights. These cases are most notably those of Lustig-Prean and Beckett v. United Kingdom and Smith and Grady v. United Kingdom, cases that exposed government bias and reshaped the human

resources policies of Britain's military. "As a result of these cases, the British Government has altered its policy on lesbians and gay men in the military and instituted a code of conduct concerning sexual behaviour applicable to all military personnel regardless of sexual orientation" (Walker, 2001 pp. 2).

The integration of minorities, including sexual minorities works well in the military occupational environment, even perhaps more easily and accessibly than in civilian circles primarily because of the identity needs satisfied by associative relationships. One does not simply work as a soldier one becomes, and is a soldier. It is an encompassing persona and lifestyle that the individual shares with countless others (qua mechanical solidarity). Acceptance of the identity and of the benefits and responsibilities that accompany that associative relationship equals personal acceptance of a specific set of obligations including restrictions and behavioural codes associated with it. One may initially be put off or uncomfortable about the idea of working closely with minorities, however; the identity of a good soldier requires one to behave and work as ordered. Contact with minorities under the circumstances and within the regulatory regime of the military environment over time takes care of the rest.

Military service exemplifies Weber's "purest of associative relationships", which include those that are of "(a) rational free-market exchange, which constitute a compromise of opposed but complimentary interests; (b) the pure voluntary association based on self-interest", (and based upon) "a case of agreement as to a long-run course of action oriented purely to the promotion of specific ulterior interests,...of its members; (c) the voluntary association of individuals motivated by an adherence to a set of common absolute values, ...(that) seek to serve a cause" (Weber, 1947, pp. 136). Military culture is a compromise of opposing but complimentary interests. Individuals are obligated to serve terms of specific length. They do not choose those with whom they will serve and often have little choice as to where they will serve. Their association is voluntary. The interests they serve are for the collective good whilst also allowing them the opportunity to learn and/or improve skills that will serve them throughout their lives. Common and absolute values bring them together and shape a collective identity.

Living to meet others expectations changes an individual. The process is perhaps the single greatest influence upon the individual's development of identity as sections of this thesis will examine in greater detail. Acting or behaving, otherwise conducting one's self consistent with others expectation(s) to create or otherwise maintain a perceived state of affairs as a signature of one's identity is the pressure of what social scientists call 'performativity'. The way that such pressure is exerted (or makes the individual feel as if it has been exerted) upon the individual (via interaction with others in their environment) is a powerful force dependent upon many aspects of culture and social structure.

The phenomenon of this social pressure including its point of fulcrum within social interaction is echoed far and wide throughout the social science community. "Classical social theorists like Marx and Weber, or thinkers like Freud, Mead and Dewey, all of whom recognized the constraints of society and culture in forging an individual's identity, but equally emphasized the "element of interaction where individuals could exercise a degree of individual choice, though in circumstances not of their own making" (Waiton, 2008, pp. 147). The individual's power to control others perception of them is limited by the community in which they live based upon what that community requires and will support.

Solidarity is universally recognized as a social phenomenon of incalculable importance, especially when couched in a 'total institution' environment like the military. Military personnel have what we have already established as a 'uniform duty' to each other, a spoken and unspoken duty to look after one another. So important is the phenomenon of solidarity that much strategic and even legislative action is taken to cultivate and preserve it even in a formal, policy driven way. Contractual solidarity, what Durkheim identifies as a set of obligations of "an eminently positive nature" which "constitute a reciprocity of rights and duties" implies a structure to social relations meant to direct action more prescriptively than would naturally take place. Such solidarity is regarded as having a specific agenda, and instances of the contractual approach "multiply as labour becomes more divided" (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 206-77).

The solidarity of the military environment, the division of labour under often extreme circumstances (people must work together) and the unique set of benefits and obligations that accompany one's identity as a soldier carry with them behaviour shaping elements oriented toward basic need. It is a pragmatic environment in which the qualities for acceptance by the group are systematically prioritized inclusive of the practical (i.e. those who can do the job) and exclusive of the discriminatory. Group success emerges as the central priority of all involved and differentiation on the basis of such things as race, gender and sexuality is quickly rendered immaterial. The nature of interaction between individuals and groups is one of constant exchange, exchange in which the individual has important choices to make.

Theory of Exchange & Rational Choice: Risk, Reward, Consequence

“...even altruists whose actions are not contingent on rewarding reactions from others’ still have to choose between alternative potential beneficiaries. Altruists, like everybody else, are faced with the problem of scarce means which have alternative uses”

(Heath, 1976, pp. 7)

Exchange theory is a natural choice for an analysis of UOTC, indeed for the social, occupational and living environment of the military in general as it applies on many levels. The theory of exchange is both intrinsically (individual attraction to the group on the basis of its own value, e.g.: social and other activities involved) and extrinsically (individual attraction to external benefits it can provide e.g. pay, skills training, c.v. enhancement, etc.) applicable. The dividends of participation satisfy needs on every level from the physical and practical to the self-actualizing. “According to exchange theory...” writes Kviz, “...people are attracted to one another (in the group) either because the association is perceived as intrinsically gratifying or because it provides extrinsic benefits. An association is intrinsically gratifying if the individual regards it as an end in itself, that is he participates in the association primarily for the experience of participating” (Kviz, 1978, pp. 223).

An individual's interactions with others or the "exchanges" in which they engage carry embedded within them the potential for reward or consequence and as a result, individuals have serious choices to make when it comes to negotiating new or unfamiliar social environments. "Rational choice theory attempts to explain, how self-interested individuals make choices under the influence of their preferences. The theory dictates that "people will engage in behaviour that brings rewards and satisfies needs" (Craib, 1992, pp. 70). The applied definition of the business world explains the theory's primary bases in a more practical and detailed manner as: "(1) human beings base their behaviour on rational calculations, (2) they act with rationality when making choices (and) (3) their choices are aimed at optimization of their pleasure or profit" 17.

The social exchange model establishes that relations between individuals as transactional in nature, goal driven, a game or ritual in which roles are played and the object is the accumulation of social currency. "People will engage in behaviour that brings rewards, satisfies needs. The exchange theory picture of society is one in which people exchange activities seeking to maximize profit; attention is given to the rational procedures by which people decide on actions" (Craib, 1992, pp. 70-1). Simply put; rewards (social esteem, etc.) are given for compliance with mutually agreed upon behaviours (such as treating teammates with respect, working toward goals etc.) and punishments (isolation from the group, reprimand etc.) are assessed for non-compliance.

The theory is known as 'exchange' given its applicability to social and/or economic inquiry. Protecting assets and guarding against liabilities is so central to the human experience that the concept has become a metaphor for ones relations with others in the group environment. It is a mark of status, a currency of social capital that one can use to provide for his/her own social security. Similar to the presentation of self in the establishment and maintenance of identity, the strategy behind the pursuit of advantage and the evasion of disadvantage is a central priority. This is what makes the process of successfully

challenging discriminatory behaviour via a no-tolerance policy for bigotry so easy to implement and enforce in a military setting, especially for those in the very early training stages (where all activity is expected to be conducted as a group or team). The circumstances (both psychological and environmental) compelling individuals to comply are at their most powerful.

There is an anxiety to meeting new people with whom one is unfamiliar and a discomfort in deciding how one should behave and carry oneself giving the lasting implications of how one might be labelled by peers. Whether new enlisted recruits or officer cadets are amongst peers, subordinates or superiors, the military protocol in which they are immersed provides a readily understood and comparatively simple template for individuals as to how they should behave. Combining this behavioural protocol with the already substantial pressure that individuals place upon themselves (especially young adult individuals) in the presentation of self in a new situation creates a recipe for integrative success. As already elaborated on in the chapter on identity such individuals approach social exchanges or exchanges with others with a tacit understanding that a (often substantial) potential for gain or loss is embedded within that exchange. The potential severity of loss and/or level of gain involved can affect the quality of that exchange. Association with the group is important. Following (closely) the behavioural protocol, the cues of mentors (senior cadets and under officers in the training environment) draws the individual closer to the group, secures his or her place within it and secures the individual's access to the privilege(s) that accompany membership. The decision as to whether or not to comply with institutional directives and behavioural protocols is an easy one.

Rational Choice Theory, a subset of exchange theory or what Peter Blau considered "Reciprocal exchange of extrinsic benefits" (Marshall, 1996, pp. 164). RCT is a system of strategic interaction whereby people "when faced with several courses of action, usually do what they believe to have the best overall outcome" (Jary, 2000, pp. 507). It details a source of motivation that while not (necessarily) economic itself is economic in nature. Its two primary components are (as Durkheim described) "rational self-interest and competition" (Durkheim, 1972, pp. 25). To maintain membership in the group individuals must adhere to

a behavioural standard, a behavioural standard that puts the group first and evidences an enduring respect for the chain of command and everyone in it. Indeed everyone in that chain of command and everyone in that unit must work effectively together to meet the goals of that unit and the goals of the force at large. They must (each and every) be able to rely on one another to attain rewards, avoid punishments, including threats to individual and group safety and ultimately even potentially death in a combat situation.

It is by virtue of those conditions, by virtue of the environment and the regulatory regime that emerges as a result that discriminatory (including anti-female, racist or anti-gay) behaviour runs contrary to that standard. It is that standard that works to control and eliminate discriminatory behaviour. The equality of basic training, the ongoing cultivation of natural solidarity through occupational and overall social life as conceptualized via the division of labour is the root of the successful integration of gay and lesbian military personnel.

The theory of rational choice applies to all individuals regardless of personality type or background. As Anthony Heath explains; “even altruists whose actions are not contingent upon rewarding reactions from others’ still have to choose between alternative potential beneficiaries, and the theory of choice is in principle as easily applicable to them as it is to the more hard-nosed individuals who engage in social exchange” (Heath, 1976, pp. 7). The closely-knit intimacy of life in a military unit, especially in the early stages of the association (such as training) raises the stakes of this loss or gain and raises the value of first impressions even without the pressure of policies that discriminate against a minority.

Proving the Presence of Regulatory Regime & Social Structure

Identifiable patterns of institutional, organizational and individual behaviour communicate the tacit seams that enclose this community, an enclosure in which the threads of civilian discrimination seem quick to unravel. The acceptance of gays and lesbians, like the acceptance of other minorities within the military community occurs consistently along the lines of both sociological theory and legal theory. Just like the theories heretofore examined and the experience of

fieldwork with the battalions all point consistently to undeniable and well-worn patterns of social environments structured by regulatory regime. On equal par with the men and women who populate that social structure, the patterns of regulatory regime on those social environments, the evidence of its existence are also a focus of this research.

Before and after gay people, and non gay people, over and above all minorities who have served, are serving and will ever serve in the military environment this research will prove the existence of that third party that has always been there and never leaves. Social and occupational environments in the military are structured by regulatory regime, a system of directive social currents that provide an impetus and a momentum. It guides interaction and directs social exchange. It is a consciousness with a singular memory and an influence so powerful that it cannot be ignored by anyone who gives or takes orders in the military. It is only overlooked by non-military political pundits and outsiders whose adherence to “conservative” doctrine, extremist religious interpretation or simple lack of military experience limits their ability to see it. Those whose lives are enveloped and contained within it never lose sight of it. It is the self-sustaining ecology of military life, the regulatory regime that structures the military environment. In methods both theoretical and practical, in measures both quantitative and qualitative it appears as a constant, perceptible, assessable phenomenon.

From the theoretical social frameworks explored by Goffman’s Total Institution (1961), and Durkheim’s Division of Labour, to the frameworks of juridical theory envisaged by Austin and Holland and the a posteriori method of law, human thought and action posited by Rudolph Stammler (above) its image is reflected time and again consistently in the interaction of military personnel. It is a consistent, predictable and balancing force that puts the needs of the unit, the needs of the group singularly and completely ahead of the needs of individuals within it. It is the regulatory regime of the total institution of military life, a particular drive, with an effect upon group and individual behaviours that can be hypothetically encapsulated in the theory of rational choice and exchange.

The directive dynamics of the military environment, the particular and unique pressures exerted upon the individuals and groups who populate it is resultant from the reconciliation of equally strong internal psychological drives with the often urgent and potentially even life-threatening external circumstances that surround people in that environment. The occupational and living environment of military service provides individuals within it a number of things they cannot achieve outside. This includes the dividends of prestige it pays to individual identity, the protective and life enhancing structure and control of regulatory regime that (at least initially) forgives their shortcomings and develops their talents to allow them the self-actualization of being a highly competent part of something larger than themselves. Is the environment demanding? Indeed it is- but this only serves to enhance the feelings of pride and esprit-de-corps that come from being a part of it. This is what makes exchange and rational choice such central theories to any sociological assessment of the military environment

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the theoretical orientation for the study. It guides the selection of literature reviewed and the practical research methods contained in the following chapter. The copious data presented in the later empirical results section will evidence and thereby identify the military as a total institution with a pronounced and visible regulatory regime firmly in place. The survey data and interviews will illustrate the scope and character of interaction of those within that institution as one of exchange guided by rational choice. This study is about gauging the effect of social exchange within the context of the regulatory regime of a total institution. It is about the identity, the character and the behaviour of military personnel, the nature of their interaction with each other in the military environment and how the circumstances and the purpose of life there separate that character and separate the nature of that interaction conceptually, practically, physically and ideologically from the civilian. This study is about the (individual and collective) implication(s) of such sociological concepts as rational regime, identity and total institution on the integration of gays and lesbians in the military service environment.

Chapter 4

Non-Empirical I: Habitus, Holiness & Homophobia

“For the great enemy of truth is very often not the lie--deliberate, contrived and dishonest--but the myth--persistent, persuasive and unrealistic. Too often we hold fast to the clichés of our forebears. We subject all facts to a prefabricated set of interpretations. We enjoy the comfort of opinion without the discomfort of thought” (<http://www.jfklibrary.org>).

Introduction: “Knowledge, Progress & Strength”

When the United States of America’s 35th President John F. Kennedy spoke these words before the graduating class of 1962 at Rice University in Texas, he addressed not merely a group of students, but a nation in the midst of what he called “a decade of hope and fear” wherein, it seems “the greater our knowledge increases, the greater our ignorance unfolds” (Kennedy, 1962). Through the eyes and ears of Rice University’s Graduating seniors, he urged America to overcome its fears by reclaiming its identity as a nation that “was not built by those who waited and rested and wished to look behind them,...but conquered by those who moved forward” (above). America’s race to the moon in the nineteen sixties would become a metaphor for the young president, a means by which to inspire the nation to harness its virtues of courage and innovation. This he felt would allow America to overcome an enduring fear of difference which fuelled a frenzy of racism and poverty that tore the nation apart in the nineteen fifties and sixties.

In a single vignette of scientific spectacle Kennedy hoped to get the country to turn away from the “clichés of its forebears”. He managed to get the country to look past its perceived limits and to embrace change, but it was only a momentary glance. The astronauts who thundered into space to photograph the Earth from the surface of the moon would return to a country as comfortable with complacency and as fearful of change as the one they left. America’s struggles with gender, identity and race, and its inability to overcome the stigma of difference would continue to cast a long and irreversible shadow across its modern history.

This study is about what Kennedy described in his speech to Rice University as the ‘clichés of our forebears’, specifically the discriminatory inferences from our history that hold us back as a civilization. It is about the natural human ability to acquire biased thinking and the learned *inability* to evolve past it. It is about the traditions we hold, the preconceived notions we harbour, the deep foundations of hate and the walls we build upon them that divide us as a culture. They are at best pieces of useless folklore, the sum of ignorance and fear, the waste product of backwards culture and biased thinking. They are at worst discriminatory inferences without scientific merit that continue to facilitate victimization, to hold groups back even in the face of scientific evidence to refute and correct them. It is an ignorance that in this case separated gays and lesbians from life in both American and (until recently) Britain and continues to injure the civility of American life today and even handicaps the nations’ ability to effectively defend itself. America’s ban on gay people in our military is based upon this sort ignorance, not only of non-gay attitudes toward gays but also of how powerful people at large believe homophobia to actually be in the hearts and minds of service men and women. It is an ignorance that requires our utmost attention, our closest critical reflection and our immediate and sustained action.

Sexualities as “Opposed and Contrasting”

Before the concept of homophobia in the military is discussed (and it will be in greater detail in successive chapters), it is important to understand the concept of homophobia itself as a primary factor in this study. Its development must be explored from archaic times in early civilization to the present, and understood from both a psychological and sociological standpoint. It begins with an understanding of why people are separated from others, categorized as homosexual or heterosexual or as Stanford Professor of History and a leading authority in the theory of sexuality, David Halperin describes “Individuals whose own desires are organized or structured according to the pattern named by those *opposed and contrasting terms*” (Halperin, 1990, pp. 159). People may seek, pursue or enjoy long term loving relationships with others. The fact that they are oriented toward members of the opposite sex or those of the same sex seems immaterial until they are divided into groups based upon that difference

and one group assumes (or is allowed to assume) privilege over the other. When did heterosexuals first begin to see themselves as opposite to homosexuals? When did they first begin to see themselves as superior?

Historians and anthropologists do not note a sociological practice of actively identifying or collectively grouping individuals by virtue of their sexual orientation before the mid-eighteenth century. "Kenneth Dover and Michel Foucault have argued" writes David Cohen "... that the modern dichotomization of sexuality as heterosexuality/homosexuality does not apply to the ancient world...". Cohen goes on to assert that "in Greek culture homoeroticism is regarded as natural, that a heterosexual/homosexual bivalence and accompanying modes of normalization do not exist" (Cohen, 1991, pp. 171).

Halperin considers the perception of gay peoples as a separate and distinct minority to be a relatively recent phenomenon, and one that goes beyond mere sexual orientation. "Now...constructionists have demonstrated, I believe," He writes "that the distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality", ...can be understood as a conceptual turn in thinking about sex and deviance that occurred in certain sectors of northern and northwestern European society in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries". Halperin describes the use of sexuality as a marker that seemed to separate homosexual people *from* heterosexual people during this time period as "...persons who possess two distinct kinds of subjectivity, who are inwardly oriented in a specific direction and who therefore belong to separate and determinate human species" (Halperin, 1990, pp. 43).

Halperin's historical analysis is very significant when we conceptualize the encapsulation of a group of people (in this case based upon their sexuality) as 'other'. They are perceived as a minority group, different from others not only by virtue of their sexual orientation but (inferably) other (arguably stereotypical) qualities as well ("a separate and determinate human species"). The separation of gay people as a minority from the predominantly heterosexual or non-gay majority as Halperin describes them "*a separate species*" has led to the one of the great human rights conflicts of the age. An individual's sexuality alone has become the grounds upon which to humiliate them, to discriminate against them in such realms as employment and housing, and in many cases select them for

criminal victimization, theft, vandalism, harassment, assault and even murder. What happened before, during and after the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that brought about this conceptual turn, and what can be done to return intergroup relations to a state of greater harmony? Based upon this knowledge, what can be done to return gay people to the human species?

Why is it all about sex?

The first important question is that of social markers as a framework for differentiation. Why might people be labelled by their sexuality? Sexuality is an inborn trait of the individual, as much a bedrock component of identity as one's genetic make-up, as immutable a characteristic as race and gender. It is also undeniable. Whilst not all peoples have the same sexual orientation they do all have sexuality as a primary feature differentiating them from others. Sexual attraction and desire are motivations that all people share. We are at our strongest and indeed often at times simultaneously at our most vulnerable when we are attracted to another. Alongside the drives of fear and hunger our sexual drives and drives toward intimacy are among the most powerful motivators known to humankind and as such are a primary source of fascination. We know firsthand how powerfully love and desire motivate us. It is only natural to take an interest in how others are affected.

On whose terms?

The naming of phenomena, the terms by which gay people have become labelled are powerful ones. The term 'sexuality' is a cold, scientific, and seemingly prurient word that is rarely applied to heterosexual people and for good reason. Sexuality is not a particularly effective word to describe romantic love, only a single component of its physical manifestation(s). 'Sexuality', when taken at face value is a very reductive term, one that refers only to sexual activity, a physical act, how two people express desire for each other and achieve physical gratification. It removes dignity and suggests an almost animalistic or unnaturalness associated with the participants. Love and attraction are far more complex and more fulfilling and expansive concepts than those denoted by the term "sexuality". The object of one's affection plays a critical and determinative role in the development of their identity including the way they are perceived by

others. It affects their daily life and their lifelong pursuit of happiness and fulfilment. Attempting to encapsulate that value in a single term (such as 'sexuality') is to create an inappropriate boundary.

When a primary school child develops a crush on a classmate, it is not primarily about physicality or lustfulness. The idea of a physical sexual encounter does not enter the picture. It is simply an overpowering daze of indescribable joy that washes over the young person leaving them blissfully out of control. This attraction is a starting point to perhaps the greatest of human exchanges, a sharing and show of dedication to another. When this happens across genders (between a young male and a young female) it is smiled upon, celebrated. When the child of present day civilization has similar feelings for a classmate of the same sex, the feelings are discouraged, and the child is (directly or indirectly) made to feel shameful.

Same-sex desire in humans (as in other mammals) is no less powerful and no less a function of basic natural physical process than is that of opposite sex desire. However, throughout modern social history, perhaps because same-sex desire occurs in a smaller minority of individuals, the perception of same-sex desire has steadily devolved into that of a negative phenomenon and used as a platform upon which to discriminate. It is routinely associated with negative stereotyping including behaviour(s) deemed inappropriate to gender and even disease. It is labelled "homosexual desire" and defined as "...deviant, abnormal and socially dangerous". "Sexual identity", (According to Steven Seidman) "now functions as a fulcrum of social control through the association of homosexual desire with disease and death" (Seidman, 1996 pp. 20).

Humankind and the Cultures of Fear

Why does society shun homosexuals in such a powerful, even *phobic* way? From where does this fear originate? When pressed to explain their discriminatory feelings against gay people individuals may cite distress or disgust over the thought of two males or two females together. They will assert distaste for what they perceive as effeminacy or gender inappropriate behaviours in which they believe (or have been told) gay people engage. Some will even assert that it is "against God's law" without going to the trouble of citing a case or statute.

However is that enough to fuel such mistrust? The fear of homosexuality and the institutional bias directed against gays and lesbians may have less to do with an interpersonal discomfort with gay people on the part of the individual and the way(s) in which gays are perceived to behave as it does with what homosexuality represents. Homophobia is a complex puzzle of history, sexism, identity, religion and fear. It is a deviation from and perhaps even a threat to the concept of “established order”. Where has this established order come from, and why is it so very important to so many?

Elias, Bourdieu & The Habitus

Discriminatory practices can gain authenticity and authority simply by the length of time they have been in place. Hillier and Rooksby translate Bourdieu’s definition of “Habitus” (from the French) as “a system of durable, transposable disposition, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations”. According to the translation, the Habitus as a structure is “a product of history, ...an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies,... (it will) predispose actors to choose behaviour which appears to them more likely to achieve a desired outcome with regard to their previous experiences,...and prevailing power relations” (Hillier, 2002, pp. 5). Young people learn the discriminatory sentiments of their group or the group to which they wish to gain or maintain membership (family, peers) and apply that language and criticism time and again as a means of acceptance by the group.

Many cultures have grappled with homophobia and many have managed it or reduced it significantly. What can the British sample, the British example of gay and lesbian military integration tell us about how such a process might unfold in America? Is American homophobia more powerful and enduring, and indeed what circumstances and events perhaps make it so? To begin with, America has always seemed to hold exaggerated concepts of gender, particularly of what constitutes masculinity. The *system of dispositions* (to which Bourdieu refers) that led to homophobia in America had uniquely

established temporal and theological roots. As those 'dispositions' were subjected to the experiences of American culture throughout the decades they were systematically *reinforced and modified* creating a mutated version of what much of the world understands as homophobia.

Masculinity and Femininity: *A gender war & its Casualties*

Generations of one's family and peers may cast aspersions on a particular group, or have internalized/accepted a dominant view of that group as outsiders. There need be no rational explanation for that dominant view. It is second nature it is not questioned. It doesn't take children long to learn that those who deviate from 'gender-appropriate' behaviours (such as same-sex attraction) are punished or disregarded by adults, and looked down upon by other children. They learn early that one gender (masculine-feminine) is *opposite* to the other and thus the qualities of the respective sex (male-female) must also be opposite. To be associated with children of the opposite gender, for any reason (including same sex attraction) represents a loss of community. For males to be associated with females it represents a loss of masculinity.

The fear (as Bourdieu calls it) of being "excluded from the world of men" is presented to boys as an enduring and catastrophic reality throughout childhood. Both tacit and overt messages about the importance of demonstrating manliness are fed to young men from childhood through young adulthood. The potential loss of "...the respect or admiration of the group,...and being relegated to the typical female category of 'wimps', 'girlies' or 'fairies' ..." (the ultimate insult for young males) is a fear mongering tactic employed by potentially every adult in a young boys life. Bourdieu assesses manliness as a quality that "can be seen as an eminently *relational* notion, constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity" (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 52-53). Manliness or masculinity, as concepts are dangerous terms to apply to boys for no greater reason than because they are such hollow terms. They seemingly describe nothing without femininity as the *negative foil*.

So how does homosexuality equate to a lack of masculinity? Homosexuality is not about physical identifications such as skin colour or eye shape. The gay

person is not a minority of physical appearance but one of role, the role of one who is attracted to members of the same sex. A person's minority status as a homosexual is defined by sexual attraction, the individual's response to others, and how they act upon it. The underpinnings of male and female identities are defined by their respective roles, what it is that they do. In the rush to sort people into groups, these roles become rigidly defined. This dynamic presents a dilemma for young gay males in their developing years, a trap that both marks them and colours their self concept. Synoptic views are applied to people in American culture based upon these roles. Sex with men becomes a feminine behaviour vis-a-vis all gay men are perceived or stereotyped as feminine.

From Synoptic Views to Reinforcement

Circumstances of the social environment can be catalysts for the adoption of widespread dogmatic beliefs on gender discrimination, and racism as well. A massive influx of immigrants to a nation (such as that of the Irish in the 1840s) may reduce the wage of manual labour and the number of available jobs, sparking an anti-immigrant or anti-ethnicity sentiment. Such discriminatory perceptions can last long after economic circumstances have changed. For the United States, a nation founded by devout, pragmatic Christian pilgrims fleeing Europe to pursue a stricter adherence to "God's Law", a cornerstone of the case for gender and sexuality-related discrimination was laid before the founder's sailing ships reached the coast of what would become New England.

Rigid adherence to strict "conservative" Bible interpretation became the principle threads of early American social fabric. The hardship of daily life and the criminalization of private behaviour reinforced the structure of the individual's relationship to society, weaving an ever-tightening pattern of rigid gender roles, subjugation, and absolutist moral code. This established "dispositions" and structures that underlay the concept of 'habitus'. The social, class and gender warfare in the 1960's and seventies (as will be discussed later in the chapter) effectively provided the modern sequential "reinforcement" of the Habitus as Bourdieu establishes. It was a turbulent, synoptic and reactionist time in the history of America. An explanation of religious text and

an analysis of its importance to the Habitus as it relates to gender and sexuality in this context is an important part of the proof of this thesis.

The How and Why of Religion

The life of early American settlers in the colonies of the new world helps to frame the reinforcement of this “habitus”. Many scholars have written throughout time immemorial of humankind’s need to draw order from the chaos of what Freud called “...an unfriendly world where at every turn the forces of nature threaten to destroy them,...nature rises up against us” He wrote, “majestic, cruel and inexorable.” It is this initial fear that Freud credits with the emergence of “religious ideals” to “personify the inimical forces of nature in the hopes of gaining some measure of control over them” (Freud, 2009, pp. 12). The universe as mankind has come to know it is a mysterious and dangerous place. It is only made more mysterious and conceptually more dangerous by how little we know about it. How to manage one’s own safety, how to act, how to establish rules- these were all functions of theology at the time. In a world as unfriendly as the one faced by the early pilgrims, their grip on theology was strengthened exponentially by the rugged terrain and catastrophic winters they faced.

The search for meaning in the universe takes on a greater sense of urgency for people in such conditions. How bad things *might* be, how bad they *might* get incites an anxiety irreconcilable. Humankind has a desire for limits, for laws and the feeling of safety that comes from knowing that somehow, somewhere there are limits in place. They need to create someone or some consciousness (i.e. God) that has a “stronger grip on existence” than they do. The man-made concept of morality is an expression of those limits. They fulfil a deep psychological need. Philosophy Professor George Mavrodes presents the opinions of Sartre, Kant and other leading thinkers concerning what the dependence of morality on religion, or what he calls Dostoevsky’s theme ‘if there is no God, then everything is permitted’”. As bedrock and fundamental as the concept of morality is, it must be based upon truth. Between morality and religion it seems that if one fails, there is no hope for the other. The dependence

of morality on religion”, Mavrodes writes, “is at best psychological” (Audi, et. al, 1986, pp. 213/214).

Absolute Rules & The Nature of Truth

In the absence of authority or leadership there must be some method used to decide courses of action, a moral or ethical code or what Runzo calls a “conceptual schema” to “bring order to one’s world” (Runzo, 1986, pp. 48). To reduce the fear of the unknown, to manage ambiguity, to manage our very existence it becomes necessary to not only construct absolute truths but to adhere to those truths in rigid dogmatic fashion. A template of laws unbreakable, a blueprint for human social conduct this is what mankind has relied upon theology for centuries to provide. It is at once both well intentioned and opportunistic, both poorly informed and uninformed but it is a ‘truth’ above all other that cannot and must not be deviated from.

Why must it be so iron clad and unquestioned? This is the nature of truth as a concept, especially truth derived in the absence of evidence. In the minds of those who follow it, that truth must be applicable to all people seen and unseen, regardless of culture, region or difference. If it is not applicable to everyone then it would not be applicable to the individual. “If someone declares that truth is not objective but only relative to societies, he may very well claim that there is no such thing as ‘objective truth’ or (that) ‘truth is relative to societies’. Both assertions, however, clearly purport to be objectively true, and are intended as truth about all societies” (Trigg, 1973, pp. 3).

As a foundation for conceptual schema, religion, in the eyes of its adherents establishes a basic or “natural order”, a timeless, eternal code that establishes a permanent hierarchy differentiating superior from subordinate, separating right from wrong. It must be perceived as always having been true and as always remaining true else it is without power over or comfort to the individual. “The natural order must retain a certain basic regularity to count as a future for us. So too, but even more fundamentally, rationality and the mind’s own interpretive scheme of thought must retain a basic stability to bring order to an otherwise incomprehensible chaos of the world. Hence it is only coherent, I think to treat

one's own view of the nature and criteria of truth, of semantic meaning, and of knowledge acquisition as being, if true, absolutely true – true no matter how the world might have turned out vis-a-vis any schema, true no matter what the future turns out to be like on any schema. If there is not some such set of absolute facts then we cannot say that there will be any future" (Runzo, 1986, pp. 46/47).

The Agenda of religion

Answering the questions of humankind about the universe seems only half the purpose of religion. As a tool for moral navigation, it inherently proposes to its followers a particular set or system of behaviours, an established set of criteria for making decisions. This quality has not been lost on the pillars of sociology. According to Robert Nisbet (1965) in his book "Makers of Modern Social Science" Max Weber "saw religion as an area of motivation for change in the development of society..." and Emile Durkheim came to regard it as the "*transfiguration* of society,...the opposition to the profane,...a fundamental state in human thought and morality" (Nisbet, 1965, pp. 74). Changing the motivations of people, determining *for* them the ideal way in which life is to be lived (i.e. *opposition to the profane*), advising them on what is *absolute truth* these are all colossal frames of reference from which to draw conclusions. Under what circumstances are these rules written?

The theological orientation so often asserted in opposition to homosexuality in the Western World is that of Christianity. Passages of Leviticus are among the most popular stones that homophobic Biblical Scholars like to cast at gays and lesbians. However the offensive strategy mounted against the gay community from extremist Christian circles is deeper and more holistic than mere isolated verses. The Bible establishes a time-honoured perception of gender that presupposes basic sexuality, heterosexual or otherwise. It places the concept of the male at the centre of the universe, paints the female as 'other' and gives birth to a notion of gender inequality that frames a line of scholarly and "scientific" thought that spans centuries of human existence. This school of thought is a basis for traditional and modern sexism as well as a foundation for homophobia.

To understand the particular thrust of Christianity and what seems to be its communal interpretation of scripture to exclude sexual minorities one needs to take an editorial and anthropological view of sorts when analysing it. To understand perhaps more fully what is written and why, the critical eye must examine the circumstances under which it was written in the first place as a guide to its faithful. The label of “outsider” is not an easy moniker for an individual or a community to carry. The early Christians of the first century were well aware of societal hostility and in many ways wrote their central text perhaps to prevent their followers from facing such ostracism.

This rigid structure of the Christian Bible, or the “tightening of the ecclesiastical machinery” as E.A. Judge (1960) phrases it, may be rooted in the time when Christianity was a new and emerging religion. The collection of documents that Christians would eventually call “the Bible” was not yet assembled and its principle authors were affected by the current events and political currents of the period. The torturous public execution of Jesus of Nazareth (among many others) by Roman authorities was a recent event, his followers perceived as outsiders in the eyes of Roman society. From the writings in the first Epistle by the Apostle Peter, E.A. Judge detects an “anxiety about public opinion” as if “concentrated on avoiding any criminal act that would warrant prosecution”. This desire for keeping the Christian community out of sight of authorities seemed to affect the writing of Biblical text from that of a chronicle to one of a structured code which Judge describes as “...designed to largely stop up the loop-holes in the behaviour of Christians. Drunkenness, brawling, and bad domestic relations”, he says “were all likely to attract unwelcome attention” (Judge, 1960, pp. 74, 75). The result is a prescriptive moral code (including commandments) delineating the individual’s relationship to society with an opening focus on gender roles.

In the Beginning

“She “makes her debut appearance in the book of Genesis, originally a chapter of the Torah, an ancient text originally designed to describe God’s relationship to the Hebrews. At this stage of her career she is merely a supporting actress, yet her womb will play a major role in the casting of the epic of humankind.

Woman: "A suitable helpmate for man"
'This at last is bone from my bones,
and flesh from my flesh!
This to be called woman,
For this was taken from man' (Redford, 2007, pp.8)

She was not created at the same time, nor conceived of the same importance as her male counterpart, but created from a part from him, a single component. The reading of the texts suggests that she is almost an afterthought, perhaps more a possession than a person. According to the Catholic Bible she belongs to him, she is 'his'. She would not exist were it not for him. But who on Earth is she and why does her first impression in the Garden of Eden mean so much?

She is Eve, and perhaps the first widely chronicled experience that civilization *en masse* has with the printed concept of the feminine. Their relationship is not described in great detail, however the trials and tribulations of the Christian world's first supposed domestic partnership would carry resounding implications for the development of humankind and the division of labour (and rights) between the sexes for centuries.

"The Serpent Tempted Me,..and I ate"

The Garden is Adam's domain, that of the male. The female by comparison has nothing. She doesn't even *have* children. She 'gives' birth a strangely minimalistic description of a process that makes more than 8 months of physiological demands on her body. The child is not hers, it is a gift that she brings and gives. It is her, the female's weakness (seduction by a serpent offering fruit) that she cannot resist that ultimately leads to the commission of "original sin" a term that assigns a negative perception to the basic processes of human conception and indeed sexual relations in general. The male, Adam is seemingly not in the vicinity at the time of the transaction but is somehow (inferably) represented as a victimized third party in the dispute. The sentencing falls harder on the female.

"To the woman he (God) said:
I will multiply your pains in childbearing
You shall give birth to your children in pain
Your yearning shall be for your husband
Yet he will lord it over you" (Redford, 2007, pp.8)

It is thereby in (what we are meant to believe is) “God’s” first broadcast to the human world that the groundwork for distrust is laid. The feminine is somehow less. Females are not to be left responsible for their own affairs, their motives are suspicious, their methods questionable. To leave them unsupervised is to invite trouble. This disposition toward the sexes would colour organizational behaviour for centuries, even informing the basis of social and psychological thought through medieval times, the renaissance and present day.

Some might argue that human civilization has evolved over the millennia, that people no longer hold these uninformed views on gender issues. Those who do should check the bedside table at their next hotel, or consult a female priest (they won’t find one). They might be surprised at how much time the Bible has spent and continues to spend on best-seller lists around the world.

Humans find comfort in the simplicity of a black and white world. In the face of complexity, oversimplification is a refuge especially for those without the critical thinking skills or the ambition to consider the circumstances or orientations of others. For centuries religion and theology have provided the immediate vehicle for access to this refuge. Indeed a central function of religion is differentiating good from bad, separating the sacred from the profane, often without the aid of empirical tools or the temporal perspective that might inform or infer causality. Explaining phenomena that one does not understand by labelling it as evil or “against god’s will” has been something of common practice in extremist Christian circles.

Sociologist Anthony Giddens reflects upon the influence of religion with a nod to Feuerbach’s *“The Essence of Christianity”*. Giddens establishes religion as a social construct, a product of human thinking. “...according to Feuerbach”, writes Giddens, “religion consists of ideas and values produced by human beings in the course of their cultural development, but mistakenly projected onto divine forces or gods. Because human beings do not fully understand their own history” he says, “...they need to attribute socially created values and norms to the activities of gods” (Giddens, 1993, pp. 464). This system of thinking, established by an unseen and mysterious authority carries a well-established set of symbols applied to the roadmap of human existence. It is in short the worship

of these “symbols”, under the stewardship of “curator groups (church hierarchy)” that, according to Irving Goffman... “affirm the traditions and moral values of community” (Goffman, 1951, pp. 301-4).

Systems of discipline, restrictive norms and values created by humans represent propitiation to a higher authority. That authority need not be seen nor understood. It need not even be embodied in fact its mysteriousness lends greater authority to its rules. This man-made creation of ideas and values satisfies very particular needs in humans and explains the “continuing power of religious ideals on succeeding generations”. Freud’s rationale for religion encapsulates the dialectic (sometimes referred to in Kantian epistemology as a “...metaphysical system arising from the attribution of objective reality to the perceptions by the mind of external objects”(footnote).

The feeling that one is alone and helpless (as a child) in the face of the awesome and destructive forces of nature causes a desire for protection. Children turn to the father or father figure whom Freud says the child “feared as well as loved for help and protection”. “Reverting to the solution of childhood”, He says “...people are led to believe in gods or a supreme being who takes on features like those attributed to a father”. This figure protects against many environmental realities including (according to Freud and others) “the consequences of his (own) human weakness” (Rowe, 1978, pp. 113).

Christianity and the social template that it created patterned much of human social interaction (including interaction with authority figures) for centuries. Separation of Church and state was more a concept than a reality in America from pre-revolutionary times through the late 20th century. Christian theology, in varying degrees of intensity was a pervasive element of organized American social life. The role that religion (particularly Protestantism) would play in the weekly and often daily lives of American children was fundamental. It wouldn’t be until the mid-twentieth century that “the intertwining of religion and the state” would even be questioned. In 1947, the Supreme Court handed down the significant establishment clause decision of *Everson v. Board of Education*. In

that case the Supreme Court purported to endorse a strict doctrine of separation of church and state when it stated that “[n]either a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another” (Finkelman, 2006, pp. 131). The Everson decision would only begin a long, slow process of loosening the influence of Christian theology on America’s public schools, however the orientation remains.

Religious Freedom to Discriminate

Religious (largely Christian) traditions have long dominated both British and American life. Religious practice was integral to much of American education both public and private for example. The school day began and ended with prayer and often included religious instruction in the form of Bible Study). As late as 1950 in America, “...the reading of the Bible in school was required by 13 states and permitted in twenty-five other states. Further, in a survey conducted in 1968, 48 percent of the responding teachers teaching before 1962 reported that Bible selections (King James vers.) were read in their classrooms on a daily to less than weekly basis” (Finkelman, 2006, pp. 131). This pervasiveness created an orientation to life and learning around which teachers, young scholars, and indeed young people in general would frame their lives and frame their thinking.

This orientation would form the lens through which scholarly and social inquiry would have been conducted. As the disciplines of the social sciences (psychology and sociology) and the fields of education, politics and anthropology evolved over the successive century (from early history to the present day), the echoes of this first broadcast would be amplified by the growth of populations and churches, codified and reinforced by law and policy, internalized by children and adults. Pioneers of sociology and psychology would cast their own stones at the feminine and continue the cycle.

Much of the earliest literature in sociology is collectively characterized by a pronounced indictment of women. One of the early visionaries of sociology and a co-founder of the German Society for Sociology devoted great length of writing to the disparagement of women in the *community and society* of man. “It is an old truth” Ferdinand Tonnies wrote, ...”that women are usually led by feelings,

men more by intellect. Men are more clever. They alone are capable of calculation, or calm (abstract) thinking, of consideration, combination and logic. As a rule women follow these pursuits ineffectively. They lack the necessary requirement of rational will" (Tonnies, 1887, pp.151).

The criticism of the social science community levied against women under the guise of the scientific would not end with Tonnies but would develop footholds in the discipline of early psychology, most notably early psychoanalytic theorists such as Freud. Prevailing thinking on the part of the early psychoanalysts consists of very simplified, very fixed, very polar and mutually exclusive notions of what constitutes masculinity and femininity. Traditionally the fields of psychoanalysis and psychology, the fields that have informed and in many ways constructed the concept of identity as a masculine and feminine dyad have looked disparagingly on the feminine, treating it as alien or somehow *less* than the masculine rather than as its balanced opposite. The feminine is consistently regarded as helpless, or submissive.

Psychoanalysis

To the hetero-sexual male dominated field of psychoanalysis, the concept of the feminine has always represented something of an ambiguity. While it was Freud who seemingly began the identification of women, as 'other', his contemporaries and followers did little to reverse the practice. Jacques Lacan in particular presents a short, almost condemnation of femininity. In his dissertation 'Reading Lacan' researcher Guan-Hua Huang identifies this ambiguity associated with Lacan's concept of femininity. The feminine represents "alterity" (otherness). It is incomplete and without direction or limits, requiring the masculine as the "master signifier" to complete it or to "close the set". Huang writes "...the masculine side designates precisely the function of positing (hypothesizing) that Lacan sets up to resolve the feminine abyss, to close the set as a whole" (Huang, 2003, pp. 21). It is the masculine that sets the rules, establishes the boundaries and initiates the order and structure in which humankind takes comfort.

In the Lacanian framework, the feminine represents the negative side of a strictly binary interpretation of gender. Feminine is irrational, an 'abyss' of contradiction or "sublation". Huang's choice of the word 'posit' is unique and telling as it seems to represent two levels of criticism against the feminine in the Lacanian framework. In the face of irrational and hysterical feminine *sublation* to 'posit' is the wise and rational, act of hypothesizing to bring order from the chaos, as Huang says to "resolve the feminine abyss" (Huang, 2003, pp. 21). The assertion is that without the balanced mind of the male, the female would somehow be incomplete, helpless or doomed. Unless care is taken to control the feminine or *feminine side* of the equation (on the part of the masculine) it would seem humankind as a whole would be doomed.

From Tonnies to Freud and amongst several other scholars and scientists a damning indictment of the feminine would be produced (and reinforced) across the century. Theirs was not the opinion of a few isolated scholars but the highly regarded, specialist opinion of leading social scientists of the period. The period itself was not an isolated phase of history but a time of emerging technology and printed dialog across an increasingly inter-connected Europe. This allowed leading thinkers to talk to a larger, more literate world than ever before. This larger, audience was capable of digesting their complex message, of carrying it and hence shaping entire schools of thought in every discipline and field.

Freud's theories on human psychology would be applied in clinical and non-clinical settings across Europe and beyond. The sociological theory of Tonnies alone would be applied to the law and policymaking of nations affecting whole populations. The result was a modern civilization concrete in its belief that gender was an exclusively binary concept, the feminine of which was also the cognitively inferior of the two. The feminine identity was regarded as one distracted by unregulated emotion, unable to think scientifically (as males would), in short not to be trusted with leadership.

Religion as a Designated Driver

Freud is not the only scientist to identify patterns of definite structure in humankind's perception of the universe with regard to behaviour. The

prescriptive codes of early scriptures reflect an evolving confusion that resonates from Mesopotamia to Merseyside. Examples of the scientific community's perception of this phenomenon include renowned British physicist and Liverpool University Professor, Sir Oliver Lodge. At once a rational scientist and scholar of the physical world Lodge also conducted research into the 'softer' science of psychology and psychometrics. He drew salient parallels between the orderly, predictable disciplines of nature (chemistry, physics et. al.) and those of human psychology and social behaviour. This includes humankind's attachment to theology as well as the characterization of sexuality as shameful and in need of control.

Science, Religion & The Tensions Between

Lodge (1908) identifies an ordering of the social world and social behaviour that he finds overall to be necessary to regulate sexual behaviour (what he calls the '*multiplication process*') in whole and yet in part to be problematic. "For some reason-a wise and good reason..." writes Lodge, "... mankind, living in a crowded state has surrounded the multiplication process with ritual and emotion and fear". Physical relations between individuals have thus traditionally been viewed as exchanges of great importance. The relation of this importance from political and spiritual leaders to the populace of the cultures they serve has been an uncomfortable and often anxiety-provoking endeavour throughout the ages, an anxiety reflected even in countless 'birds and bees' discussions between modern parents and adolescent children. This running interpersonal dialog has created an ordering of the social world via laws written and unwritten in an attempt to regulate behaviour in a way that traverses areas of fear and shame, areas in which religion often becomes the designated driver. Predictably, the journey carries implications for those involved including an impact or imprint upon identity.

In regard to the ordering of the social world in this regulatory way, Lodge appreciates humankind's perception of the need but cautions the latitude with which the doctrine has been applied. "No doubt this is absolutely justifiable and right, and, by experience necessary;" he says, "...but it may in some cases to have gone too far" (Lodge, 1980, pp. 224). Lodge's impressions of religion and its

doctrinal application to communities, especially at the height of its apex in his own time is a brave statement of scholarly opinion that contributes to both the idea of theology as absolutist in nature and indeed questionable as a foundation for law as the rational and evidential protection of liberty.

On the cutting edge of scientific inquiry at the height of the 1800s and widely hailed as a visionary of his generation, a shaper of scientific inquiry even today, Lodge came to see the quantum physics of relationships between matter and energy reflected in the dynamics of human social behaviour and thus similarly predictable. However the interpretation of religious doctrine, its lack of threshold for critical evaluation and consistent application is precisely what makes it a dangerously weak and dangerously inconsistent influence on rational law and policy. Furthermore, it is an influence that Lodge recognizes as ongoing. The belief in a “divine Spirit”, the codification of “Sacraments” in spite of what Lodge called “occasional exaggerations concerning them” is consistent with an epidemiology of assertion and acceptance that if left uncontrolled and without critical evaluation from time to time can lead to chaos and inhumanity, the very dangers that sacramental theology is (arguably) designed to avoid. Reflecting upon the developmental history of society in the throes and wake of religious doctrine, Lodge concludes “vicarious expiation, the judicial punishment of the innocent and the appeasement of an angry God are surely now recognizable as savage intentions; though they have left their traces on surviving formulae” (Lodge, pp. 225).

Such traces according to Lodge and indeed many others (Elias, et. al.) form tacit and fragmentary precepts of how people act toward each other and the structures they collectively put in place to manage their world, their community and their existence. The inconsistent interpretation and consequent *re-interpretation* of prescriptive moral codes (such as those found in scripture) can lead to oversimplification of what is right and wrong. When combined with humankind’s enduring propensity to perceive and accept religious doctrine as law consistent with the authority of scientific principle such inconsistency becomes problematic. The carceral network described by Foucault continues to

punish minorities whose basic sexual orientation deviates from the hegemonic social practices established and enforced by society.

The time-honoured integration of religious values across the centuries has provided a pervasive foundation for bias that the discipline of law has struggled unsuccessfully to control. When America's foremost founding father Thomas Jefferson spoke of separation between church and state it seems less a clear directive for law and policy than it does a challenge to basic human consciousness. All human interaction, relationships from those of the basic social, interpersonal and relational spectrum to those of a wider hierarchical spectrum of church or ordered political governance emerge and evolve from the same dark and turbulent pool of social and emotional chaos involved in defining one's place in the world. While establishing hierarchy and rules and building social structure(s) is a conscious and cognitive process, the basic motivation to *seek* that structure, for the purposes of achieving basic safety, of escaping loneliness, of asserting rational control, even of establishing ordered agency is instinctual. The definition of guidelines to achieve this construct of reality must never cease to be questioned lest the evolution of the human race be left stunted and disabled, a prisoner of its own self-constructed bias.

More than a century has passed since Lodge, Freud and other scientists attempted to silence the alarm on difference, and still sexual minorities are still held with scepticism, judged and punished (in the case of the American Military) by the very society they have sworn to protect. How deep into the basic fabric of human life this discrimination is threaded is a difficult measure. However, a wealth of research on gender may provide a seam from which to explore the issue later in this thesis.

The perception of societal structure as characterized by the rigid and divisive perception of gender, employing ritualistic functions of social and sexual relations, the assignment of sin and the complex intertwining of shame and fulfilment pervades social thought throughout the printed history of humankind. The evolution of human morality as a concept, the precepts of moral behaviour, our concepts of right and wrong and the apparatus we put in place to enforce

those concepts are not static forces, and yet societies have acted upon them for centuries as if they were. If the primary hinge-points of civilized human life are to be found on the ambiguous curve of the construct of gender then the dense and weighty structures of humanity surely sit on a critically soft and unstable foundation.

Gender & the Binary Paradigm of Penetration

The act of sex has long been described as consisting of “active” and “passive” roles. The active (or male) role requires penetration. This is typically the insertion of the penis into the female vagina as only men can do. It is the invasive role that of the penetrator, often idealized as that of the conqueror. The passive or female role is to *be* penetrated, to *submit* to the male. While the symbolism of roles as applied to the sexual act, and as applied to gender interactions is debated in modern times (Richardson 1993, 1996, et. al), the fact remains that much metaphor is extracted from this archetypal interaction and many aspects of identity claimed as a result.

Many (if not all) recognized qualities of masculinity and those of femininity are seemingly tied inextricably to this paradigm of penetration. Individuals of each gender seem evaluated upon their successful ability to conform. Any non-compliance with the social construction of one gender seems to equal immediate association with the other. The female (or feminine) identity is discredited or at least proven passive by submission to penetration by the male while gay male identity is discredited by association.

Some traditional feminists (Brownmiller, et. al.) believe that men view sexual relationships as expressions of power. Based upon this association they evaluate their own masculinity by the place they see for themselves within that relationship. It is not an exchange, but a conquest. Vulnerability is exciting but somehow shameful and so intimacy true intimacy (at least on their part) must be avoided or hidden. For men to engage in sexual relations, presumably with women, any vulnerability must be avoided in order to create or maintain the illusion of control and power.

For those men who subconsciously subscribe to this traditional ideology the sexual act is a metaphor. It is more than a physical interaction for gratification or procreation it is above all things a means of communicating power. The sexual act becomes not one of intimacy or of exchange between equals. Such an element of exposure (or potential loss of power) is too much for the archetypical man to bear. The sexual act is a metaphor, an epic about penetrating someone the equivalent of (or tantamount to) conquering them. The masculine identity is thereby protected.

Pierre Bourdeau's "Domination Masculine" depicts male identity throughout the ages in the "context of struggle or war, and it excludes the very possibility of the suspension of power relations which seems constitutive of the experience of love or friendship. Relations between men and women are depicted in the image of "hunting or warfare,..." while men are conceived primarily in images of "coarseness and brutality" (Bourdeau, 1998, pp. 110). Domination is the key characteristic of the male, exclusive of all other potential characteristics. It is not about sharing or creating something, it is about conquering and submission.

"The popular image of a successful man combines dominance over women, in social relations, and over other men, in the occupational world". This mutually exclusive differentiation between men and women encapsulates men in what Jack Sawyer calls a "major male sex role restriction" that includes "demands,...to be competent and self-assured, and manly". The problem manifests itself on the 'self-assuredness' factor. Men who lack confidence for any reason "believe they fall short don't admit it, and each can think he is the only one" (Sawyer, 1974: pp. 171). The resulting pressure to establish oneself as "manly" at all times and in all contexts motivates men to sexually harass women and may contribute to the homophobic nature of male communities.

Homosexuality was scarcely identified as a threat to masculinity or masculine domination until the mid 20th century but grew to become one when the need for male differentiation from women grew. The sexual liberation of women in the 1960s with the emergence of birth control, and the foundations of their economic liberation with the women's movement was regarded as something of

an opening salvo against this masculine dominance. It represents what Sheila Rowbotham describes as “...a threat to the old (accepted) way of being a man” (Rowbotham, 1973, pp. 21-2).

In a radical departure from the 1950s, young women no longer looked to adulthood with the expectation of being married and home bound by the time they reached their twenties. With sexual freedom in hand many began the search for the economic freedom and independence of professional careers, endeavours once also denied them on the basis of sex as well. Educators at the primary school level became more concerned with the performance of girls in the classroom. Women entered university in numbers unimaginable in a previous generation. Marriage and home economics made way for politics and social activism.

Married and unmarried women alike by the thousands even took an active role in the struggle for black civil rights as well learning from experience about the mechanics of equality. St. Petersburg Times Columnist Bill Maxwell, a Black Journalist from Meadville Mississippi dedicated his March 3rd 2002 column to the “thousands of white women who joined the black-led civil rights movement and came of age during the era of the nation’s greatest social, intellectual and political discontent and renewal”. Maxwell applauds the women’s commitment and bravery with a reference to a close female friend he made during this time. “...Her life was in much more danger than mine”, he said, giving the example of another white woman “...Viola Gregg Luizzo, a mother of five, who travelled from her comfortable home in Michigan to the South to help us. On March 25, 1965, an Alabama Klansman fired a .38-caliber pistol through the window of her car, killing her instantly” (Maxwell, 2008). Thousands of women faced long hours of volunteer work, abuse by locals and the very real danger of being killed but they were not intimidated. Their efforts challenged both racist culture in America and the idea of women as submissive on television screens across the nation on the evening news.

Where did this rapid societal shift leave men of the age? For many it seemed to leave them without the time-honoured and well-established road map to adulthood that their fathers and grandfathers enjoyed. The university to

profession route was no longer a quest upon which they rode only with other men to support a home and family, but increasingly a prize for which they competed with women (those for whom they once provided). For many men this competition, represented a displacement from the world they knew, an obstacle to their appointed rounds. Gender was no longer the dividing and defining line it had once been and the groundwork for an epic struggle for identity had been laid.

What does it mean to 'be a man'?

Author James Dean (2005) explains in his article "Straight Men" how heterosexuality developed into an identity "in opposition to homosexual ones" in the "early decades of the twentieth century. Women were struggling for civil rights and political rights, as well as joining the workforce and attending college in large numbers. Also men were moving from farm and blue collar occupations (those that demanded physical labour) to white-collar ones, where the key qualities for job success were 'feminine' qualities such as the ability to communicate well, to cooperate, and to be agreeable with others". Dean explains that "men were being feminized through white collar occupations" whilst at the same time watching women entering what he calls "bastions of men: college, the workforce and politics". It is this transition he credits with driving an anxiety about "gender roles being blurred and confused" (quoted in Seidman, et.al, 2007, pp. 136).

The environment had been altered, integrated, changed. The traditional halls and corridors of identity through which men passed for generations were now open to members of the opposite sex (females). Men of the time period were striving to define themselves against the backdrop of swiftly shifting home and occupational environments. No longer was their status as men validated by the university or the workplace. No longer could they be defined *as men* through the role of breadwinner and head of household. They were adrift, displaced and seemingly without the means with which to identify. Their time-honoured masculine privilege was (perhaps for the first time in modern history) threatened as never before.

While key differences occurred across class, place, gender, religion and ethnicity, from a generalized perspective at least the collective response at large appeared almost as a confused, defensive almost schizophrenic struggle for self-definition on the part of the (then newly) besieged male community, an oppositional (binary) approach to the perception of identity as masculine and feminine. The strategy was not to manage the integration of women but to exclude them as a gender on all levels from the concrete to the conceptual. Gay men were not the primary target for this exclusion; women were. It did not begin as a response to gay men but as a response to the incursion of women, a need to maintain or indeed create a clear and enduring gender divide. The pressure on “bastions” of masculinity, environments divided by gender such as sports teams or military occupations to conform to a more exclusive masculine paradigm was thereby increased. Controlling the advancement of women within occupational environments (particularly those which were traditionally male-dominated) was the central focus. The broad strokes by which masculine and feminine behaviour would be defined would establish and reinforce the idea of gay men as feminine and establish the feminine as the enemy.

If the presence of women in traditionally male dominated occupational environments confused masculine identity, the mere presence of homosexuals, in fact the mere concept of male homosexuality to many people would blur the lines of traditional masculine identity even further. This is not a fear of male on male rape in close quarters, nor is it revulsion at the image or idea of a flamboyant or effeminate male acting out. It is neither of these things to begin with. It is merely the blurring of the lines that define men (as conquerors of women) that enters an element of ambiguity in a once lucid (even oversimplified) environment, an interruption to the established order that created division and discomfort. A man who is not interested in women is suspect and anxiety provoking. In environments where individuals put so much energy and cognition into the presentation of self (such as sport and military culture)-there is much anxiety to begin with already.

Identity, Currency, Safety

Many men are not comfortable with ambiguity, especially when that ambiguity applies (or is applied) to them. Recognition, immediate recognition of their masculinity is central to their identity and self-concept, a social currency with which they navigate the world. Without that traditional masculine recognition- their dominance and privilege are threatened. They run the risk of being seen as personally, physically even sexually submissive (the way in which they are trained to see women). The consequences of that threat include separation from the male-dominated culture of which they have worked since childhood to become a part. They risk humiliation, isolation from their community, even violence directed against them. "They are afraid of becoming feminine" Sheila Rowbotham writes "...because this means that other men will despise them, we (women) will despise them and they will despise themselves" (Rowbotham, 1973, pp. 117).

Bourdieu: *Prevailing Symbolic Order*

Pierre Bourdieu attributes the discrimination against homosexuals (largely males) as based upon what homosexuality represents (symbolically) to the non-homosexual male community, namely a reversal of the established order. An insult or bastardization of what it means to be a man.

"The particularity of this relationship of symbolic domination is that it is linked not to visible sexual signs but to sexual practice. The dominant definition of the legitimate form of this practice as the relation of dominance of the masculine principle (active, penetrating) over the female principle (passive, penetrated) implies the taboo of the sacrilegious feminization of the masculine, i.e. of the dominant principle, which is inscribed in the homosexual relationship"
(Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 118).

According to Bourdieu; the prevailing social order" or perhaps the very identity of the masculine collective itself feels innately threatened by the ambiguity or even the mechanical realities of same sex relationships. The "traditional" male female dyad i.e. male as 'active, penetrating' and female as 'passive, penetrated' is no longer the conclusive lens through which existence is viewed. It is not just masculinity that is threatened but that of privilege as well. The existence of such relationships he feels "...very profoundly call into question the prevailing

symbolic order and poses in an entirely radical way the question of the foundations of that order and the conditions for a successful mobilization with a view to subverting it" (Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 118).

It is the idea of gay (and lesbian) movements with a "*view to subverting*" (*this established order*) that evokes such urgency in the heterosexual male collective to dissociate itself from homosexuals, especially in regions of the social landscape so meant to reinforce traditional forms of masculinity (such as sport or military culture). Few regions within the sociological landscape seem more motivated to dispel the influence of homosexuality as those of sport and military culture. These are the protected footholds of traditional masculinity. To not defend them (in the eyes of the masculine collective) is as Bourdieu writes "to contribute to the progressive withering away of masculine domination" (Bourdieu, 1996, pp.117).

Conclusion

As I trace the history of homosexuality from the bloodiest battlefields of the planet to the hotly contested arenas of international domestic politics and national identity, through the rise and fall and rise again of tolerance, it is to this perceived threat which I always return. The subversion of the established order of gender is the greatest threat of all and the driving force behind the endlessly enduring and blindingly bloodthirsty hatred for gay people. It is the only "threat" that homosexuality poses to society that is substantial enough to explain the deep and often deadly rage with which homosexuals as individuals and as a community are met. It is the only threat commensurate with the rage-filled physical force, the fortune in budgetary spending and the aggressive policy-making directed at them to restrict them, to control them, to annihilate them. The "Gay Threat" to the established order of identity politics is only explanation for this homophobia that makes sense.

Chapter 5

Non-Empirical II: Identity, Military Social Structure, Regulatory Regime

“The role of the institutional environment in the construction of legitimacy, the dialectical nature of accountability relationships and the communicative structures through which accountability occurs and legitimacy is constructed” (Black, 2008, pp. 137).

Introduction: Military Social Structure

The consensus of right-wing conservative sectors of the United States government is that the integration of gay and lesbian people (identified in previous chapters as a stigmatized minority) would threaten the identity of soldiering. This threat to identity includes a negative change in the civilian public's societal attitudes toward soldiers as well as a reduction in the esteem with which soldiers hold themselves and each other. Most importantly it is a reduction in esteem whereby the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of the services would be adversely affected thereby threatening the objectives of national defence. Opponents of the gay and lesbian integration of the American Military depict such plans for integration as a doomsday event, an (avoidable) man-made disruption to the social order and social structure of the military with catastrophic consequences, a poorly informed, broad and sweeping generalization not just of the American character, but of the concepts of identity and social structure as well. Evidencing the impact of social structure and regulatory regime on individuals and groups in the military occupational environment requires the researcher to step outside this framework where socio-political judgement clouds the observation of group interaction. The UK is nearly two decades ahead of the United States in this area, hence the reason of its choice as a site for the study. Examining this contrast will expose the unique contours regulatory regime and their affect upon the occupational environment.

Opponents of integration use fear of the unknown as a rationale for discrimination. Sexual minorities (gays and lesbians) are controversial and their inclusion as a minority in the military makes the future of the forces unclear. In

light of this dimension of the argument what *is* clear is that no foray into the discussion of minorities (including gays) in the military services and their potential effect upon cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness would be effectively informed without a thorough understanding of structure in the military, its regulatory regime and of identity. These “conservative” civilian lawmakers, politicians and commentators conceive the social structure of the military and indeed the military identity itself as fragile and inherently inadaptible. To them military social structure is based upon a system of limited parochial values identical to their own.

In truth, the military environment and the social structure that exists within it, from combat and combat support to non-combat services, is based largely upon the practical necessities of strategic success and combat survival, a social structure created and maintained by those who live in it and not one imposed upon them from the outside. It is a social structure that shares few if any dynamics with their own civilian existence. Little about the military environment (as evidenced in previous chapters) has changed in this respect for centuries. Civilian government armchair speculation as to what military identity *might* be, how it *might* develop, how it *perhaps* operates is no basis for policy making. The question of how to integrate a force, specifically how to adapt an intervention that is context-sensitive, i.e. to enlist a measure of control consistent with the military community’s *own* sense of identity and consistent with its *own* social structure cannot be successfully done by looking at that community from the outside in.

To inform such a process of intervention requires the perspective of insiders. In-depth consultation with insiders of a military system already integrated by court order is the best means of analyzing such a shift in policy and informing its subsequent implementation. Does the dimension of sexuality in colleagues truly matter to them as members of their military occupational community? This study enters the a military environment, assembles those insiders on a very large scale. From many levels of the rank structure, at many levels of training and operational experience, from across many theatres of conflict from seasoned veterans with decades of experience to current combat instructors recently

returned from deployment to the future of the forces, i.e. its officer cadets and young enlisted personnel need to be consulted in depth and at length for effective conclusions to be drawn regarding a personnel issue of this nature.

Those insiders have the opportunity to both privately and anonymously, as well as in groups describe details of the identity they share and details of the social structure within which they live and work. They as individuals and as a group have the opportunity to weigh in on cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness, what it means to them, how important it is, how it is cultivated and whether (or not) demographic differences such as sexuality affect it in their work environment.

Implementing a major change in the way in which a community operates is an anxiety-provoking endeavour both for those managing the implementation to those affected by it in the course of their duties. Where do you begin to examine complex issues of identity and social structure in relation to a policy issue of such size and importance as a nation's military? When considering how best to approach something it is common for an individual to consult a parent or older sibling and ask them to reflect on their own experiences. Parents and older siblings have a genetic make-up and cultural experience close enough to one's own to serve as an effective guide and source of advice. They have been there before and faced the same obstacles. Additionally their perspective is often longer and thus more qualified. Often their shared similarities and life experiences are also close enough to one's own to allow one to effectively predict how such changes and decisions are likely to unfold in their own life (by looking at theirs).

Where individuals might have a parent or older sibling to turn to in cases such as this, the United States can often rely upon the Commonwealth of Great Britain in areas of inquiry from the social, to the political to the economic. At the time the United States of America was born, Britain was already well into young adulthood as a nation, a proverbial adolescent superpower grappling with complex issues of governance all its own. As Britain fostered America, her military forces were already rooted in centuries of tradition. To understand the

evolution of identity and social structure and the influence of tradition on the process of that evolution, America need look no further than Britain for an effective case study relatable to its own experience and development.

From war, to peace-keeping, to police action and nation-building the armed forces of Great Britain, one of the world's oldest and most effective military forces have been there. Britain's military is a small and closely-knit community. It is populated by some of the most committed and articulate individuals that one might ever have the honour of meeting. These individuals have much to say about what military identity is, how it emerges and the circumstances under which it is best cultivated. Military service personnel, active duty soldiers, officers and cadets have much to say about the social structure of the military, what it is based upon and how identity is used to navigate it. No foray into the discussion of gay and lesbian integration into America's military services would be effectively informed without a substantial case study of Great Britain.

Toward Truth & Justice: Britain Joins the European Union

A significant part of the soldiering identity is related to the simple act of compliance. Taking orders from superiors is an integral part of basic training for both officer and enlisted communities. Training *to give orders* effectively is itself a comprehensive education. To serve in a nation's military, i.e. to *be a soldier* is to adapt to this group/collective mindset. Soldiers do not individually choose whom they will report to and they often do not select the jobs they will do. They do not collectively decide to wear fatigues to work in the morning, nor run as a group for fitness simply because they feel like it. Such operational decisions are made for them by a higher authority with which they comply. The integration of gay and lesbian soldiers into the British military forces was not (primarily) a British Idea. It did not begin as a House of Commons plan via a white paper, or a Ministry of Defence planned directive. In short, it was a turn of events not of Britain's own making but a plan for compliance with a ruling from a higher authority.

Britain's inclusion in the European Union and its status as subject to the authority of European courts changed the playing field of employment law for gay and

lesbian employees in both the public and private sector. This included human resources disputes in both the civil and military services as well. Individuals, communities and even nations, no matter how hard-nosed tend to mind and manage their affairs differently when neighbours are watching. When those neighbours collectively have the authority to intervene circumstances can turn abruptly. Britain's discrimination against gays and lesbians in employment circles, no matter how 'traditional' would not escape the juridical gaze of EU member states and the United Kingdom's discrimination was not tolerated.

Britain had no lag time to assess whether the culture of the forces would accept this minority openly and/or on what terms they *might* accept them. The country had no "time to conduct a feasibility study" as the United States likes to label its bureaucratic delays on policy implementation. In Britain's case the move toward integration was a direct order from the European Court of Human Rights. The Commonwealth of Great Britain's compliance with that direct order represents for the British a portrait of military precision. What the situation represents for Britain's ally across the Atlantic, the United States is an opportunity to examine the question closely, yet from a safe distance as a case study.

Gauging the affect of gay and lesbian integration upon group and individual identity and its impact on the cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness of military units allows a researcher to develop a model for implementation. Such a model (ideally) will include a framework for understanding social behaviour, specifically social behaviour *within a particular social structure* occupied by a *particular regulatory regime*. Understanding this regulatory regime and the particular directive pressures it exerts upon and within the social structure or social environment will allow policy-makers and commanders to understand the military social structure, its occupants, and its directive dynamics closely enough to use it, *the military environment itself* as a facilitator of integration.

What is the structure of social interaction in the military, how does this structure regulate identity and what are the implications for gay and lesbian integration? To answer these questions a researcher must do three things. The first of the three is to understand the concept of social structure, the intuitive and

instinctual importance of social structure and the regulatory regime that functions as a control mechanism in the military environment including how it shapes identity as a signifier of place within that social structure. The second is to understand *identity*, not just as an intellectual concept but as a psychological and sociological phenomenon, a dimension of consciousness and of motivation, how it develops, manifests itself and functions as a tool of the individual, the group and the larger communities in which those individuals and groups find themselves. They must also understand the unique phenomenon of *military* identity including how the military identity diverges from civilian identity and the reasons for which it diverges.

Finally to validate this data the third action requires the researcher, armed with this knowledge to enter the military environment, observe the operation of its social structure firsthand, survey the majority of unit members, talk to those who populate it at all levels, to understand how they perceive themselves and their peer group and understand what drives them as individuals and as a community. Then and only then can one truly understand the identity of soldiering and how it impinges upon the military occupational environment with regard to minority (gay and lesbian) integration, specifically its relationship to cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness.

"Many representatives of disciplines devoted to the study of sociocultural factors (anthropology and sociology) have been concerned lest the psychologist create a picture of man that views his behavior as too exclusively impelled from within. These hearty environmentalists consider the impact of external and situational factors to be at least as important as enduring, internal, as personal impellents of behavior"
(Lindzey, 1958, pp. 24)

Step One: Understanding the Concept of Social Structure & Regulatory Regime

"The individual himself belongs to a social structure, a social order" G. H. Mead

In 1934, philosopher George Herbert Mead introduced a quantum physics model of social structure or social order to explain the means by which individuals relate to each other and the implications of such interaction on behaviour. Social structure is of the utmost importance to individuals. It is through their use of that social structure that they are able to satisfy a multitude of psychological and

even material needs. "Society" in Mead's view is the medium and the method by which the individual recognizes him or herself (by their interaction with others). It was Mead's treatise that the individual "belongs to a society of all rational beings, and the rationality that he identifies with himself involves a continued social interchange" (Morris, 1934, pp. 202).

It is the individual's membership in a community, the connection the individual has with others that allows for the formation of the self, or what Mead identified as an individual consciousness "...with a particular position that distinguishes him from everyone else". It is this relationship to others that determines selfhood, and determines in large part one's identity as the individual "would not be a self but for his relationship to others in the community". The individual's interactions with others evidence for that individual his/her existence through perceptible changes in their social environment. "The individual", wrote Mead "is continually reacting back against this society. Every adjustment involves some sort of change in the community to which the individual adjusts himself" (Mead, 1934, pp. 200).

Distinguishing the self from others, and distinguishing individuals one from another is a basic function of social structure. The separation and oft-times categorization of things (including people) by innate qualitative characteristics is an instinctual human response. Consistent with the structural dynamics and processes described by Mead's 'Social Order'. It is basic human cognition aligned with inductive reasoning. It is a desire to control and predict. It is the perception of patterns and boundaries, the awareness of likeness and difference, that provides for the discernment of relationships. These differentiations, from small to large are part of a universal and fundamental human drive toward understanding or comprehending the world through the application of structure.

Social structure is an orientation, a human inclination to apply or seek to find structure and elements of structure to all aspects of life and understanding. From Noam Chomsky's theories on the deep and surface structure of language, to the symbolic roadmap of semiotics to the Gestaltists who "maintained that perception is a direct and instantaneous apprehension of wholes, whose

properties cannot be reduced to that of their elements” it is an expected system of “totality, transformations and self-regulation” (Laver, 1982, pp, 15). This is the human experience of life, interpretation, unconscious factors of a consciously lived experience. It is an exploration of conceptual terrain, a search for seams and borders within which we look for answers in the hopes of finding ourselves.

“Identity is a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or as a member of a social group that define who one is” (Burke & Tully 1977)

The division and ordering of people into groups based upon identity, as well as the differentiation of people by how well they align with the rest of the group is a distinction that comes quickly to most people. Cognitive psychologist Clinton Desoto (1960) describes a technique he calls “grouping schemas and ordering schemas”, a cognitive process in which people develop “...names for classes or categories of people and (one) that they also (use to) make distinctions among the members of each class or category”. “According to Desoto, once the individual has conceived of a group of people (through perceptions of similarity, causality or proximity) he is then likely to search for order within that group. Desoto believes that such ordering is naturally “linear” in nature, and that people “..have a propensity to perceive a single order among the members of a particular group” (quoted in Wegner, 1977, pp. 218). It is the individual’s identity, a fundamentally important concept that determines their placement within the social structure.

Step Two: Understanding Identity: *What it is*

As the concept of social structure was theorized, the concept of identity was already decades in debate. Even today, the concept of ‘identity’ in the social sciences is a sweeping and virtually intractable one. Its use as a label in professional and academic circles is at times almost seemingly empty while at others thoroughly loaded. After decades as a leading pioneer in the mapping of identity, Erik Erikson noted: “the more one writes about the subject [identity], the more the word becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is pervasive” (Erikson, 1968, pp. 9). Nonetheless, the concept of identity and its implications within the social structure are pivotal to the proof of this thesis and

as such require a coherent degree of definition and exploration including its development as a concept applied to an individual, to a group and to a community.

French phenomenologist and philosopher Paul Ricoeur (1992) illustrates the concept of identity or what he calls the “problem of personal identity” as not a singular concept but the intersection of two concepts. His definition of identity is a juxtaposition of sorts, an oppositional comparison of both, or the “privileged place of confrontation between two major uses of the concept of identity, ...on the one side, identity as sameness, (Latin, *idem*, German *Gleichheit*, French *memete*); on the other, identity as selfhood (Latin, *ipse*, German *Selbstheit*, French *ipse'ite'*)” (Ricoeur, 1992, pp. 116).

Ricoeur’s inclusion of the Latin and Germanic translations of the word in his description illustrates the futility in using words to describe a phenomenon so developmentally, so temporally and so *semantically* varied in and of itself. Identity is a process, a dynamic interplay between society, the world at large and the individual. It is a continuous exchange between the individual and his or her *self*. It is a continuously ongoing process of one’s presentation of that self to others, of testing, of conflict and reconciliation amongst all parties involved. It is at once the place we find for ourselves and the place that others find for us, the qualities we feel define us and the qualities that others assign to us. It is a domain over which we extend great effort to control for much of our lives, yet in the end we essentially have very little.

Identity is more than the details on a driving license or passport. It refers to a broader set of qualities, dynamics and associations. While there is a dimension of self to one’s identity it is also largely dependent upon others. According to Burke and Tully; “Identity is a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or as a member of a social group that define who one is” (Burke & Tully, 1977). Postmodern narrative theorist Mark Currie says of identity that it is “...relational, meaning that it is not to be found inside a person but that it inheres in the relations between a person and others” (Currie, 1998, pp. 17). The overwhelming power of identity to exercise control over behaviors and feelings,

to drive motivation and responses, even to direct individual emotional and cognitive development at the basest of levels is precisely contingent upon its status as an integral component of human consciousness.

Identity as a word is a linguistic anomaly, not so much a noun, or a thing, to be named and grasped as much as it is a process to be observed, perchance to be understood. It is the dialectic, the exchange between the individual and his/her self, between the individual and the group. The concept of identity for the purposes of this study is that of an intangible communication of such deep psychological and sociological importance as to supersede the importance of things tangible. It is this tragically flexible and gnawing impermanence of identity, this need to establish and re-establish it again and again in the eyes of peers and the eyes of society, the immense social privilege or conversely the immense liability assigned to it that is responsible for its colossally powerful fragility. Identity is a fundamentally important aspect of humans as individuals, but how do we find it? How does it develop and who decides if and when we get it wrong?

Identity: The Individual Context

In the individual context the concept of identity is more than the set of characteristics by which one is identified by others. It is an array of descriptive and expressive qualities by which that individual recognizes him or herself and by which he or she associates that self with others. Indeed, to the clinical psychologist, the concept of 'identity' is regarded as an individual issue. Its development (in sequence and content) carries behavioral implications for overall mental health. Problems with identity, even mild uncertainty about such things as "...long-term goals, career choice, friendship patterns, sexual orientation and behavior, moral values and group loyalties" can lead to severe mental health problems (DSM-IV-TR, 2000, pp. 741).

Identity formation is a multi-faceted process. As individuals make their way through their environment from infancy to adulthood they encounter individuals and groups, circumstances and events that exert significant influence over their sense of self and their sense of purpose. Such individuals, groups and

circumstances work in conjunction with the developing child's own perception(s) to not only delineate the world but also to discern their place within it. Given the importance of identity social scientists from across the disciplines have spent the better half of two centuries dissecting the phenomenon from its etiology to its likely effects.

The first clinician and researcher widely-credited with splitting the atom of identity composition was Sigmund Freud who used the word to describe a concept that transgressed the traditional *theretofore* disciplinary divides between individual psychology and sociology. The Austrian physician and founder of psychoanalysis couched the concept of identity and its subcomponents (the id, the ego, and the superego) within his framework of psychoanalytic ego psychology to describe the individual's experiences with the self and his or her relationship to society. The relationship was one of interconnectedness, a consciousness one shares with a larger group that includes an essential view of one's own self. "The ego ideal opens up an important avenue for the understanding of group psychology", wrote Freud. "In addition to its individual side, this idea has a social side; it is also the common ideal of a family, a class or a nation" (Freud, 1914, pp. 101). Freud established the concept of identity as a set of characteristics extant at an individual, a group, a community and even a national level.

It wasn't until successive Psychologists, with a Freudian background such as Erik Erikson entered the social sciences that the concept of identity began to take some applicable shape, a shape that included a decidedly social dimension. Of Freud's use of the word identity, Erikson said that Freud "...used it (the term 'identity') only once in a more than incidental way, and with a psychosocial connotation. It was when he spoke of an 'inner identity' which was less based on race or religion than on, ...an individual's link with the unique values fostered by a unique history, of his people. Yet it also relates to the cornerstone of this individual's unique development." The link between an individual's identity and his or her relation to their peer group, even to their community is integral to Erikson's reading of Freud. "The term identity expresses such a mutual relation", wrote Erikson "... in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within

oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others” (Erikson, 1956, pp. 56-57).

Erikson began to add flesh to the bones of (Sigmund) Freud’s conceptualization of identity as a function of ego, an “...evolving configuration, ...gradually established by successive ego syntheses and re-syntheses”. Erikson interpreted Freud’s concept of the ego as having “...no greater task than learning to know where it stands in the eyes of others” (Erikson, ‘Growth’, 169). These basic mechanics of identity development are the key to understanding the environmental dynamics affecting gay and lesbian integration into military unit life. Without this understanding, no successful integration process may proceed.

Identity: The Social Identity

As a product of social exchange, identity at large is tied to the group of which the individual is a member. Qualities of that group identity can be read in the behavioural expectations that the group tends to hold in varying degrees. Given the comparatively more formal structure of military units (over non-military groups), *military* identity as a qualitative variation on this concept, is tied even more tightly to the behavioural expectations of the unit. Individual attraction to any group (military or not) begins early and is sustained throughout child and young adulthood. Humans are social beings interacting on a variety of levels. These levels, individually and collectively affect the development of identity.

Individuals aspire to, seek and maintain memberships in organizations to define themselves, i.e. to evidence their identity to themselves and to others.

Aspirations begin in childhood, are reinforced by peers, older siblings and parents, shaped by mentors. An internal voice says ‘I define myself (as A, B or C) based upon my membership in a club, organization or profession’. The process for many young children begins with activity selections such as sport, selections they make for themselves and/or selections made for (or imposed upon) them by parents or teachers. Identifying one’s self as a youth football or rugby player infers a degree of athleticism and teamwork. In football, power is expressed through speed and footwork coordination while in rugby it is expressed in terms of roughness and taking the hit. Swimmers develop a similar orientation with

notable differences. Elements of hydrodynamic form and technical skill replace roughness. Successful competition is based upon technique. Power is expressed through speed and endurance. A language and orientation reflecting *these* qualities emerges that is shared by participants, reinforcing the identity as well as practitioners interact and communicate with each other.

The phenomenon continues into adulthood with choices of training and profession. Identifying one's self as an engineer tends to infer an innate creativity, a mastery of physical and structural dynamics. The individual is a scientist, a design specialist. Power is expressed through the ability to solve problems. A collective esteem emerges from this persona that serves as a currency to the individual both inside and outside the community to which he or she belongs. To insiders (other engineers perhaps) it is a persona or set of tools that serves as a common ground. It is a community with a common language and mode of thinking, a community that can often be both friendly and to some degree competitive. To outsiders it is a persona with a bit of intrigue, a master of mathematics and uncommon creativity.

Often the prestige of an occupation (e.g. medicine, law, et. al.) and the social currency it contributes to identity outrun the individual student's sincere interest in studying it on a personal level. This is a phenomenon illustrated both in the interviews for this study and my years of clinical practice in mental health and educational psychology. Engineering as a profession, especially in military circles is one laden with the perception of privilege and prestige, often with masculine overtones. The respect that engineers enjoy in military and civilian circles attracted the interest of a west midlands cadet interviewed for the study. "There is a lot of prestige to being an engineer" explained the 3rd year cadet, "a lot of prestige associated with the field". He went on to reluctantly report that much of the coursework left him struggling and often bored. "The university in the first degree doesn't give you a lot of real engineering" he went on, "it's mostly a lot of theory and that didn't really interest me" (Interview, 16/6/10).

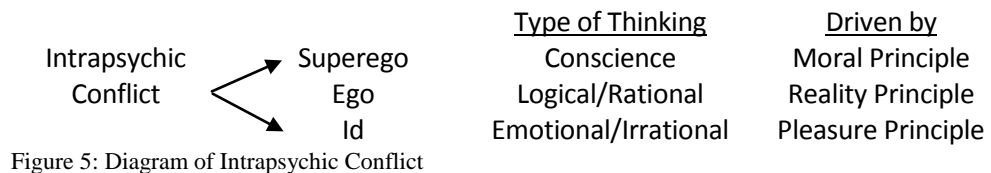
To identify one's self as a doctor or medical professional infers a rigorous education and a challenging series of clinical internships for which the individual

is respected. The individual is a scientist, a healer. Power is expressed through treating and preventing disease. In all professions, all activities to some degree the individual's identity is reflected back at them, evidenced by the changes in their environment that they perceive themselves as having been able to affect by virtue of *their* work, *their* presence in a given situation, *their* existence. From haematologist to hair dresser, a social bonding amongst practitioners, based upon shared experience and mutual respect is assumed. One may feel at home with others of similar background, even made to feel at home through use of a common language, inside jokes and the benefits of membership in the community. One has arrived.

To identify one's self as a soldier infers an equally unique identity, a range of uncommon characteristics and seemingly universal esteem. A soldier is regarded on film and in family stories as the 'hero' or 'protector', one who sacrifices personal comfort and freedom in service to others. Film footage and still shots of American soldiers liberating Paris during the Second World War are truly iconic and lasting images. The semantics of this, perhaps at their most extreme include the sort of qualities and imagery synonymous with that of a "saviour", a powerful archetype of the utmost significance with both mythical and Christian roots. Perhaps most importantly, the soldier is one who is not beholden to others for their own security. He or she is not a *victim*. He or she is the opposite, i.e. an active participant in the sacred, complex and dangerous activity of guarding others. A uniformed individual (enlisted or officer), especially in an unusual and perhaps unexpected civilian environment such as travelling through a port authority or terminal seems to command the instant respect and gratitude of others, and especially in a time of war.

This esteem is nothing new, and has perhaps been a characteristic of social or group interaction for centuries of human existence. Throughout the history of humankind the warrior classes have attained an identity closely associated with the highest ranks of social class. From the samurai of feudal Japan to the modern conveyance of knighthood in Britain (where the element of combat experience has often been substituted in recent years by such things as artistic and humanitarian pursuits) the archetypal concept of the warrior carries a mark

of distinction that is unmistakable. This esteem is reflected in the motivation of students as young as primary school who enter cadets or junior cadets. Even those in their pre-teen years evidence the symbolism of the uniform as a powerful social currency, one they can use to evidence a personal worth for themselves and others.



Anna Freud's management of intrapsychic conflict explains the mechanics of identity and the implications of such mechanics on behaviour. She illustrates an adversarial relationship between the id and the ego when "...conflict arises between id derivative and ego activity (maintaining identity), a conflict to decide which of the two is to keep the upper hand or what compromise they will adopt. If through reinforcement of its energetic cathexis the defence set up by the ego is successful, the invading force from the id is routed and peace reigns once more in the psyche" (A. Freud, 1966, pp. 9/10). Even in the individual alone the process of exchange is one of great complexity with a diverse and variegated set of competing needs.

As in other environments, other social structures, this identity is a tacit communication of needs between the individual and his or her self that is communicated in means both spoken and unspoken to the buddy beside them and outwards across their unit, their battalion and back again. These exchanges in part and in whole comprise the dynamics of identity. It is not a military process *per se* but a sociological one that echoes consistently across civilian and military environments. It is a process that shapes values systems, activates emotions, sculpts personalities, senses of humour even motivates cohesion and morale. It motivates actions from kindness to cruelty, even characterizes such actions as functional evidence of one's identity from the protective to the destructive. Identity is a product. It is, in any environment a product of this dialectic, a process known as ego synthesis.

Ego Synthesis = *Identity Development & Preservation*

Whoever the individual is, whatever role they play or seek to play and to whichever group the individual belongs, the exchange is a continual process of testing, retesting and establishing that presentation of self along consistent and coherent lines. The expectations of others drive much of the individual's behaviour in the maintenance of identity. From leader to follower, female to male, mother to child, husband to wife, forward and back and onwards throughout the lifespan, the identity is a process of on-going negotiation driven by practical necessity, by contingency, even (partly) intellectual or idealistic fantasy. Behaviours that are driven by emotion such as anxiety, fear of failure or low self-esteem are barriers to this exchange and thereby barriers to the successful achievement of identity. The structure of the individuals' role can often provide a roadmap to circumnavigate these barriers. The social systems of family and social networks, the hierarchical systems of the workplace all such systems function as safety nets and tools of higher achievement and have their own unique requirements and expectations.

A head of household requires the functionality of the family to operate effectively and to evidence for themselves their identity salience, even their value as individuals. Those who discipline their children too harshly may feel guilt about their actions. They may feel concern for the identity or identifying image, the imprint of themselves that their actions or behaviours leave behind and the resulting reluctance of the family to communicate. That head of household may then react back against this image of themselves and respond with greater tenderness or forgiveness when managing children to make that image more consistent with others expectations. That individual may develop strategies to control their anger, adjust or moderate their responses to frustration and to guide their reactions to their children, spouse or others. The exchange may highlight for the individual elements of what it means to be a good parent, consistent with the societal image of a good parent and may allow them to better enjoy the esteem that comes with such an image or identity.

A physician requires the support of a medical team to do an effective and self-fulfilling job. However skilled they may be at diagnosis, treatment even surgery; those who disregard patient concerns or react dismissively to nurses and support staff may feel the loss of professional esteem from peers or encounter barriers to their ability to function as a clinician. Without the readily-agreed upon evidence that the doctor is acting appropriately, however well-credentialed or qualified they may appear on paper he or she will not succeed. The pressure of the peer group, the work team, the family, by virtue of the social structure they cohabit will serve as guides to and checks upon the individual's personality and behaviour. The individual, even the leader is limited in their ability to determine how they are perceived or even what behaviours are appropriate. It is ultimately the unit and the members of one's community who determine what behaviours are acceptable and not acceptable. Reactive anger is controlled egotism is moderated, attitudes adjust.

A cadet with low self-esteem who resorts to using racist or sexist language or discriminatory behaviour will find that fellow cadets isolate him or superiors criticize. Like his counterparts in civilian life, the cadet will react back against the image of him that is created when this occurs. He will weigh the cost-benefit of such behaviour in terms of the loss of social currency in which such actions result and choose a disposition or a set of behaviours that preserve the esteem of his peers and do not harm his future potential. The evaluation of his choices in this regard are readily (tacitly and overtly) evidenced by circumstances around him including the responses of superiors and colleagues. They are exchanges that to some degree provide the individual with a mirror for their behaviour and an opportunity to change and change they do, every minute of every day in the training environment.

These exchanges alter not simply the behavior of the individual but their relationship with themselves, their relationship to others and others relationship to them. They are an encompassing dialectic between the individual and the self. They are indeed exchanges that, in varying degrees, from the massive to the minute change the individual, as well as the overall social structure of their immediate family or working group (unit). Such exchanges have the power to

change the community in which that unit is situated and ultimately the society at large. These are the interactions, from the quiet reflections of the self to those one-on-one and in groups large and small that incite incremental changes in the broader perception of individuals and of the groups to which such individuals may belong. These are the interactions that ultimately disprove stereotypes, that drive acceptance and that ultimately silence the false alarm on difference.

The restraint of individual ego as described by Durkheim's theory of the division of labour is essentially a function of ego synthesis. It is about making choices of how to behave in order to secure and to maintain attachment to the group. It is the reconciliation of conflict between the emotional component of the id and the rational mediation of the ego. To maintain his or her identity in the eyes of the peer group indeed to remain a part of the peer group, the individual must adjust their responses and/or their presentation of self to suit that peer group. This initial motivation to seek inclusion and the pursuant, enduring motivation to maintain attachment to the group is a pivotal influence on individual behaviour.

The cathexis (emotional significance) described by Freud of (in this case) maintaining attachment to the group is consistently high in most cadets. Even if the initial drive toward self-centred or discriminatory behaviour is strong, instinctive, instilled perhaps even in childhood and cultivated throughout one's adult life this powerful identity-preserving cathexis will endeavor to override that instinct. When faced with the prospect of being dismissed for insubordination in the form of discriminatory behaviour, most adjust their behaviour accordingly. Those who don't are dismissed. A lack of respect for co-workers in the British Army for whatever reason and in whatever form it takes is not tolerated. It is disruptive, insubordinate and inconsistent with the community values and imperatives of the service.

An individual's *newness* to the UOTC training environment, their uncertainty about what to expect, and anxiety about being accepted can lead starting cadets to joke even inappropriately to break the tension. This can include homophobic jokes to identify themselves as in-group with a sort of *us-versus-them* type of comparison for humorous affect. While the emotional forces of the id may

support an initial drive toward (homo, gender or ethno) phobic behaviour as a means of identification with the group this response is quickly rendered ineffective by the response of permanent staff instructors, senior cadets and other mentors and the offending individual is quickly asked to adjust his or her behaviour. A failure to adjust is met with dismissal, i.e. the loss of the individual's attachment to the group and loss of identity as a soldier, an intensely significant consequence to those in this community.

The logical and rational drive of the ego will weigh the consequences of acting out (disciplinary action or loss of esteem by PSIs and superiors) and the individual ultimately complies with institutional directives. This is simply a basic function of 'ego synthesis'. The enforced uniformity and the regimentation of Army Life are rhythmic examples of this ego synthesis. Repeated episodes of ego synthesis condition behaviour and are responsible for the success of the British model of integration as will be explained in greater detail in the results section of this thesis.

In short this is how the *identity-impinging* dynamics of the military environment itself can act as a facilitator of integration. When ordered by superiors to inventory and pack equipment, soldiers comply. When ordered by superiors to secure a perimeter, or guard a checkpoint soldiers comply. When ordered by superiors to conduct operations with colleagues of different races, religions or genders soldiers (ultimately) comply. The shared identity of soldiering, by virtue of the immediate practical needs of the environment and the immediacy with which those needs impinge upon the individual and the group systematically outrank any other aspect of identity at that point in time. It is not about personal likes and dislikes it is about *getting on with it* (the job). This is and has been the cornerstone of soldiering identity for centuries. It is categorically and manifestly absurd to assume that an order to work in integrated units with gays and lesbians or any other minority group in uniform would be met with any other reaction than compliance. In the unlikely event that it did an immediate, discipline-based corrective response is expected. It is the social structure and the regulatory regime within it that makes the rules for individual behaviour based upon the demands of the environment. The individual is not the driver.

Ego Synthesis and Identity

Erikson's reading of Freud elicits an understanding of ego psychology that conceptualizes identity as a feeling, a tool of socialization, and a subgroup of activities involved in tacitly communicating and reconciling the individual's relationship to the self and to others. "The term itself speaks for itself in a number of connotations" wrote Erikson, "...it will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity (at one point); at another an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis; and finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a groups ideals and identity" (Erickson, 1980, pp. 109). It is only after the individual has accepted that group's ideals, and internalized them that the inner solidarity is formed. In words, thoughts and actions the individual recognizes themselves as a part of that group. That identity cannot be formed without the individual's observation of other key figures in the group.

The disciplines of sociology and psychology are but a few of the fields of study that chart these dynamics of identity shaping. Key figures in the discipline of philosophy have held that the way in which individuals recognize themselves is based largely upon the way that he or she sees others in their environment. Several theorists (Hegel, Goffman et. al.) have concluded that an individual determines their own identity only by their interaction with and observance of others. It is not an inborn process of cognition but a socially-interactive one of *re*-cognition or comparison of the self to others that allows an identity to form. How an individual chooses an identity or how they *identify* is a social process. According to both Goffman and Hegel it is this drive to represent the self to others that is responsible for much of identity development in individuals. "Self consciousness exists in itself and for itself", writes Hegel, "... in that, and by the fact that it exists for another self-consciousness; that is to say, it is only by being acknowledged or "recognized" (Hegel, 1910, pp. 175) in Martin, 11).

The individual understands that he or she represents the group, and the group determines in large degree what behaviours are acceptable and unacceptable to that end. To subscribe to that identity is to accept those norms and behaviours

including interpreting and promoting them as a representative of that group, a process of compliance that Herbert Blumer (1966) calls “symbolic interaction”. It is in this way that identity is a vehicle of behavior, a complex system of interactive expression and interpretation through which individuals “...fit their own acts to the ongoing acts of one another and guide others in doing so”. “Symbolic interaction involves *interpretation* or ascertaining the meaning of the actions or remarks of the other person, and *definition*, or conveying indications to another person as to how he is to act” (Blumer, 1966, pp. 536).

The mechanics by which the individual learns to control others perceptions of them within a social structure are the foundation for understanding what makes the total institution of the military such a potentially rich environment for gay and lesbian integration and equality. When the dynamics, the structure and the *rational plan* of the total institution do not include room for discrimination, the community, the group and the individual *must* adapt. In no environment do individuals and groups adapt with the precision, the sense of urgency, or the attention to detail with which those in the military environment do (as will be discussed later). First, however, it is important to understand the mechanics of how identity is shaped through the natural course of cognitive and social development, and how the singular values of the military environment are inculcated in recruits utilizing these same dynamics.

The Infant Awakens: The Process of Identity

The process of identity begins as not a question of who am I, but of *who are they?* As infants and children, our parents, and perhaps older siblings are the first people we see and become accustomed to. We don’t know who we are yet, but we learn very quickly who *they* are. We follow them, watch them, mimic their speech and other activities in an attempt to be more like them. Our early navigation of the social world will be conducted largely along the map we copy from them. In lieu of our own self consciousness, we are miniature versions of them. In the absence of the developmental changes accompanying our own physical and cognitive maturation we know of nothing else, and yet it is a *lack of* knowledge that we take great pride and confidence in. ‘Helping’ one parent in the kitchen, or dressing up like the other or perhaps older siblings is a form of

identification-related play with no knowledge of the consequences or responsibility the role entails. Our identity is a sturdy castle we build upon the sand without so much as a momentary glance at the approaching tide.

At these tender pre-adolescent stages, many of the differences between ourselves and our parents are neither perceptible to us nor to our parents and so the intimacy that we share with our family and peers is as yet unaffected. It is perhaps the nature of this quiet, selective and comfortable development of personal identity, the consistency of understanding that washes like a gentle tide over our assumptive consciousness as infants, children, and pre-teens that makes the discovery of *inconsistencies* within our own identity at once both so painful and frightening when they do emerge. “Perhaps this may account”, writes anthropologist Anthony Cohen “for the devastating nature of the discoveries some of us make in adolescence that we are really different from them” (Cohen, 1994, pp. 55). Like many worrisome eventualities, facing the possibility that we *are* different is something we put off, ignore even hide from ourselves.

Our desire to be accepted, to be loved and to be a part of the social world is a powerful drive, a central motivation for much of what we do as children and young adults. Our identity emerges over time as the ever-evolving reconciliation of whom we want to be with whom others want *for us to be*, the reconciliation of internal, perhaps biological drives with the structures of expectation and social acceptability. The period of adolescence makes unique demands on the developing brain for which no one is truly fully prepared. The discovery of differentiation of any kind from parents (including opinions on social or political issues) can be stressful. However, it is when such discovery includes fundamental, life-altering and inescapable variances like sexuality that those discoveries can be (as Cohen writes) “devastating” (Cohen, 1994, pp. 55).

Identity: Social Currency & Control

As children develop into young adults and their exposure to and involvement with groups outside family life increases a growing yet tacit understanding of

identity, its importance and mechanics grows along with them. Increasingly they become peripherally aware of the social currency of identity (both theirs and that of others). Attempts to account for it, to increase and manage it are made in adolescence. Attempts, both successful and unsuccessful are made to manipulate their own identity as a social tool. Mentoring and role-modeling by older siblings or others becomes critically important at these stages of life in helping them to identify appropriate or *culturally prescribed* means of presenting themselves and communicating with others. The successful attainment of such culturally prescribed identities holds the key to the social prosperity that comes only from inclusion in the group.

The successful attainment of such culturally prescribed identities on the part of the individual holds the key to that individual's social, and in some respects even life-long prosperity (including financial prosperity) as well. It is only through the strategic manipulation of this pivotal identity within the social structure that social currency may be earned, managed and spent. It affords one's acquisition of relationships, the respect of one's peers, even potentially one's long-term prospects for employment, the ability to provide for one's material needs and self-esteem.

It is by these means that the scarcely tangible concept of identity is universally recognized as being of the highest imaginable value to the individual, a quality or aspect of ones being that they must cultivate, develop and protect with the highest priority and sense of urgency. Such measures of development, cultivation and protection occur at many tacit, verbal, and even action-oriented levels including their careful choice of association with and/or (at times overt) disassociation *from* others. Perhaps this accounts in some way for the violent nature of anti-minority (including and especially anti-gay) crime as if conducted in an effort to punctuate (for the rest of the community) the perpetrators disdain for and social distance *from* gays and lesbians.

Children and young adults, and in many cases even adults into late life spend a great deal of time and effort identifying with and adhering to culturally prescribed identities, or what Stets and Burke (2005) have called "identity

standard". They behave in ways meant to elicit the respect of and/or inclusion in their peer group, their family group and other groups within their environment. One's behaviour and activities form the signature of this process. The process keeps their actions consistent with their perception of what others expect from them. They hold themselves to a standard or their *perception* of that standard. This standard is the driving force behind their self presentation as well as the motivator for much of their actions in a given situation, i.e. maintaining control of their own identity process or avoiding "disruption in the identity control system" (Stets & Turner, 2006, pp. 211).

So important is this adherence to culturally-prescribed identities that great care is taken both by the group or community (including parents, peers etc.) to cultivate them and by the individual to develop and maintain them. What begins with blue for boys and pink for girls in infancy evolves over child and young adulthood into a set of values and norms with which the individual's peers expect compliance, a rigid and simplified understanding of such things as dress, speech, activities, gender role and self presentation (as discussed in a previous chapter). Thus the identity standard is established early in the social structure and the identity of the individual, like delicate ivy on a brick edifice grows in a consistent pattern to match.

The "cybernetic model of perceptual control" established by interdisciplinary scientist William Powers¹⁸ (1973) is a four-component model that begins to define how the individual makes meaning of the identity standard and the way(s) in which they internalize or apply that identity standard to their own presentation of self. The four components include: (1) the Identity Standard, or set of (culturally prescribed) meanings held by the individual which define his or her role identity in a situation, (2) the person's perceptions of meanings within the situation, matched to the dimensions of meaning in the identity standard, (3)

¹⁸ Power's work in behavioural science mirrors that of Sir Oliver Lodge (discussed earlier) who also applied elements of the physical sciences to a behavioural paradigm. "William T. Powers received his B.S. in physics and did his graduate work in psychology at Northwestern University. He has consulted for the centre for the teaching profession and was formerly Chief Systems Engineer of the Department of Astronomy at Northwestern. He has published articles in psychology, astronomy and electronics and designed a number of electronic instruments" (Powers, 1973, inside cover).

the comparator of the mechanism that compares the perceived situational meanings with those held in the identity standard, and (4) the individual's behavior or activity, which is a function of the difference between perceptions and the standard" (Stryker, 2000, pp. 287).

The individual's exhibited behaviours (responses, actions, feeling/affect) are meant to reinforce or to evidence (for others and for themselves) the identity that they have chosen for themselves. In psychological terms it is an innately self-conscious process of "bringing situationally perceived self-relevant meanings into agreement with the identity standard,... or self verification" (Stryker, 2000, pp. 287). While models of perceptual control are relatively new (Stryker, 2000, et. al.) the concept of identity and the method of identity development as contingent upon interaction is a very old philosophical and social scientific idea. It is a method that confirms or denies for the individual actor what behaviour or sorts of behaviour(s) are tolerable, acceptable or appropriate.

Communities, societies even small groups can take on a personality or a persona all their own. They are collectively composed, self-regulating, singular consciousnesses, adaptive living entities with their own social homeostasis. This is the organism of social structure, a consciousness and a singular, often wilful entity, composed of and affecting and yet seemingly independent of individual members within it at the same time. It is indeed a structure with a perceivable framework that includes the separation and ordering of individuals and the concretizing of identity as integral parts of its architecture. It is within the framework of this social structure that human consciousness emerges and through social interchange that identity is negotiated and formed.

Stigma & Stigmatization: *The Presentation of the Self*

"The Greeks, ...originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut, burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor - a blemished person, ritually polluted to be avoided, especially in public places" (Goffman, 1963, pp. 11).

The consistency of one's identity with those in their community (including family and peers) is something the individual can take pride and security in. As differences perceptible to the individual begin to emerge within them they are often reluctant to expose them. It is then that the individual begins to consider the consequences of rejection, learn the mechanics of the presentation of self to others including perhaps the necessity of hiding those differences whilst at the same time quietly suffering the feelings of separation and inadequacy that inevitably accompany such deception. Such an individual carries a painful signifier of difference, what Erving Goffman called "Stigma".

Facing homosexuality as part of one's identity is not like facing qualities of race or gender. In many ways sexuality can be hidden, kept secret or even denied when one is confronted with it. This 'unapparent' quality, this ability to obscure one's sexuality as an aspect of one's identity is likely, at least in part responsible for the mysterious and sceptical nature, and perhaps even the shame with which it is regarded (because it *can* be hidden). Society is widely characterized by its discomfort with ambiguity. Those hiding a central quality of identity as integral to one's existence as sexuality is can often find this imposed drive to hide it (a technique often referred to as 'closeting') to be a painful experience that separates them from others. "Even when an individual could keep an unapparent stigma secret", wrote Goffman "he will find that intimate relations with others, ratified in our society by mutual confession of invisible failings, cause him either to admit his situation to the intimate or to feel guilty for not doing so. In any case, nearly all matters which are very secret are still known to someone and hence cast a shadow" (Goffman, 1963, pp. 94).

The effect of stigmatization relative to sexual orientation is that it can poison this system of networks from family to workplace, removing critical safety systems for the individual and limiting or destroying completely the facilitating effects of such social networks. In a military context, it can leave otherwise respected and capable leaders separated from their units and young developing adolescents completely exposed and vulnerable without the family and friends they would otherwise naturally rely upon for support and protection. It is this aspect of stigmatization, the loss of social currency associated with revealing one's sexual

orientation (or having it forcibly revealed for them) that is often responsible, in part and in whole for the vastly larger comparative rate of suicide in gay and lesbian youth over that of their non-gay peers. Some would rather not live at all than live with an identity so discredited.

Identity & Societal Control

Identity is not merely a passport to the social structure and a conduit to social interaction. How an individual is to be regarded and most importantly how that individual or group of individuals is to be subjected to the *practices of power* in society is a key function of identity as well. Given both the overtly and the tacitly invasive nature of social dynamics, the power of social structure (including those of law and policy, cultural and social traditions) and their ability to impinge significantly upon the life of the individual (via the assignment of rights and privileges) as we have discussed in the previous section it is worth noting the practices of power in society and how those practices can hinge and impinge upon identity.

The structure of society provides a rigid and protective framework for privilege wherein one's identity can be an asset or a liability. In his discussion of the congruence and divergence of Foucault and Elias on their understanding of society, Dennis Smith evaluates Foucault's work 'Discipline and Punish' as a treatment (or explanation of 'truth') as "an expression of the practices of power,...the modern self as the prisoner of a docile body, the artefact of a panoptic technology operating through the carceral network of a disciplinary society" (Dennis, 1999, pp. 79). The establishment of rules, both legal and social is indeed a practice of power.

Describing society as operant of a "carceral" (or prison-like) network and the modern self as an artefact of a panoptic (or all-seeing) technology is very frightening, orwellian imagery to use, and appears at first reading as alarming and almost irrational. One might be well to ask just how exposed *are* individuals and groups to the view of society of their lives, including their private lives? How vulnerable are they to the societal structures that seek to (formally and informally) evaluate their behaviour(s) and perhaps punish them as a result?

When the question relates to an individual's status as gay or lesbian, those individuals are completely exposed and they are completely vulnerable. Everything from the basic concept of what constitutes a family to the intricacies of civil law and public policy are framed around the socially accepted paradigm of opposite sex relationships. Any other configuration is regarded as 'other', a characterization of something regarded as either (at best) invalid or (at worst) a threat to the established order.

Foucault's vision of the "carceral network" (such as that of a prison) is apt in the discussion of the environment for sexual minorities, especially in the United States and in the United Kingdom until recently. The exclusion of sexual minorities, and their expulsion from the nation's military (America's single largest employer) is but one of many cases in point. America has long controlled and punished sexual minorities, excluding them from full membership in society. Without access to civil marriage same sex partners, even those in exclusive relationships for decades are given no familial access to each other in hospital care. The (state) sanctioned and legally-recognized benefits of marriage, the protection from discrimination in housing and employment and other rights assumed by non-gay people are luxuries many gay people do not take for granted, but must fight for.

Equally valid is Foucault's assessment of the "panoptic" nature of social interaction in the domain of identity. What makes society's view so 'panoptic'? Social interaction, especially amongst men is intensely intimate and open. Sexuality is not the private matter many assume it at face value to be but the eminent domain of male society at large. Sexual minorities themselves have not forced sexuality into the public domain in a quest for rights and privileges. Sexual minorities (gays and lesbians) have not forced society to recognize them and their community in the '*we're here-we're-queer*' protest for visibility, rights and privileges that the opposition so often dismisses their movement as. This conflict, this movement toward outright identity pride based upon sexuality is the product of a class war with the non-gay hegemony, a war whose first shots were fired long ago from the hetero-normative side of the field.

It was the non-gay society that forced the issue of sexuality by criminalizing same sex relationships (until 1957 in the United Kingdom¹⁹). It is the non-gay society that primarily forced the issue of sexuality by denying same-sex couples the rights of marriage and reducing the value of their relationships, of the families they create and of them as people. It is the non-gay society that has forced the issue of sexuality by allowing, even enforcing workplace discrimination against gays and lesbians. It is the non-gay society that that has forced the issue by allowing the discharge of service personnel from the military purely on the basis of their sexuality regardless of the value or character of their service as soldiers. A staunchly hetero-normative society has systematically forced the world to face the issue of sexuality by consistently and methodically using the demographic of sexuality, the identity of one's status as gay or lesbian as a platform for discrimination, reducing or eliminating the civil rights of an entire sector of the nation's populace based upon a single facet of identity.

The Economic Model of Identity

The stereotyping of this minority, i.e. the poisoning of this minority identity holds tremendous implications for that minority and for the society in which they find themselves, not simply in the here and now but for long term as well. The footprints of privilege and exclusion run deep and do not wash away easily in the time and tide of history. There is a "preferential and successorial" quality to this sort of privilege that is etched almost indelibly on the nation's character that must be considered in great depth and breadth if that nation is to truly come to terms with discrimination and the exclusion it has sown over decades. Any intent to destroy this sort of discrimination in the "*root and branch*"²⁰ fashion it

¹⁹ The UK in 1957 saw the publication of the "Wolfenden Report on Homosexual Offenses", a study by the Home Office that recommended that "homosexual behaviour in private between consenting adults should be decriminalized" (Timeline: Gay Fight for Equal Rights, Anon, 2002). The United States Supreme Court ruling (2003) in *Lawrence v. Texas* struck down similar laws prohibiting "two persons of the same sex to engage in certain intimate sexual conduct" (*Lawrence V. Texas* (2003)).

²⁰ The phrase "root and branch" is often used to characterize the nature of the United States Supreme Courts' approach to ending racial segregation in the nation's public schools. The court found segregation policies in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. Applied to rulings, opinions and commentaries throughout the history of American civil rights law, the phrase was first applied to the assenting opinion of *Green v. County School Board*, 391 U.S. 430, 437-38 (1968) which held that *Brown II* "charged [schools] with the affirmative duty to take

has confronted other discriminatory crises of its type will require an understanding of the depth and breadth of the exclusion that its proverbial seeds have grown over the century.

Durkheim's paramount work, *The Division of Labor in Society* lays a foundation for understanding the concept of this exclusion. Perhaps the most striking and direct findings of Durkheim with regard to minority exclusion (including the rights of gays and lesbians to serve in the armed forces) is that of solidarity, specifically negative solidarity. A concept that according to Durkheim "...directly links things to persons, but not persons among themselves, ...one can exercise a real right by thinking one is alone in the world, without reference to other men" (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 116). Even with the debunking of myths about gays and lesbians, the friendships and associations that non-gay individuals have with members of the gay and lesbian minority; the effects of the stigma remain and can remain for generations.

Those effects are maintained by law and policy that continues to privilege one group (non gay individuals) over the other (gays and lesbians). Specifically it creates a mosaic of rights and privileges exclusive to heterosexual men and a paradigmatic way of looking at citizenship that affects the otherwise equal distribution of or *access to* rights of liberty and property. Heterosexual personnel enjoy the liberty of identifying a spouse or partner. They share the *property* rights of health benefits, and the *property* rights of pension or death benefits as ensured by the military, the *property* rights of shared tenancy in base housing and travel benefits for spouses and children they have together.

For minority individuals to hold (ostensibly new) rights, including property rights as individuals or as a group, presumably those rights *must* be taken away from or at least shared with others, others who *already* hold those rights. According to Durkheim: "what characterizes real rights is that only they give a preferential and

whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch". The phrase is significant as it illustrates a growing frustration of justices to enforce the rule of law (that of racial desegregation) upon a populace increasingly unwilling to accept racial equality.

successorial right. Thus, the right that I have in the thing (workplace, prestige, benefits) excludes anyone else from coming to usurp what is mine" (Durkheim, 1933, pp. 116). The preferential and successorial quality of such rights infers a permanency to the holder that can reverberate through time across generations. If I didn't have to compete with minorities for my specialty in (the workforce, the military etc.) then my son or daughter shouldn't have to either.

Stereotypes of minorities, including those of gay and lesbian individuals are very powerful and above all *enduring* devices. Their power can last for generations and are rarely questioned given the security they provide so many non-minorities at so many levels. The act of questioning stereotypes threatens the illusion of order that comfortably obscures the gray areas of things not easily explained. If minorities with whom one might compete are saddled with stigma and silenced or sidelined by suspicion (as many gay and lesbian enlisted and officer candidates are) then they are easier to put (and keep) in their place and less of a threat to one's own career ambitions. This quality can take some of the competitive pressure off non-minority candidates in the workforce. Discrimination against gays and lesbians simply works and works well for the (non-minority) individual in the services.

Minorities excluded from the ranks of military service are (in the broadest sense) beholden to others for their own security, casually looked (down) upon as victims in need of rescue or protection. Minority candidates who are excluded (whatever their minority status) are indebted to the non-minority population. They are regarded by their non-minority counterparts, and by themselves as indebted, as lesser than. Across many planes of social existence including the military services those held in such regard suffer the reduction in self-esteem that stems from this sort of oppression. Those of the non-minority population enjoy what they may (tacitly or openly) perceive as an increase in their own privilege. An entire sector of candidates (often high-functioning and competitive candidates) with whom they might be forced to compete for jobs and status is removed. A self-fulfilling prophecy whereby only individuals resembling the group prototype populate the environment is established. Those on the inside

have the authority to selectively choose others like them for jobs to the exclusion of minorities.

It is by this broad spectrum of social and structural dynamics that the identity of those identified as homosexual are excluded from the community without the social, intellectual and thereby perhaps the financial currency to effectively participate as equals. It ensures that no matter how hard they work, no matter how dedicated and prepared they may be that there will be always be heights of achievement available to others that they will never attain as those heights are reserved for individuals who do not carry their stigma. It is by this broad spectrum of social, historical and legal mechanics that homosexual identity is discredited.

“Managing a discredited identity”

Daily life takes on an increased complexity for gays and lesbians, especially gay men. In addition to managing one’s everyday responsibilities; the added encumbrance of living as a gay or lesbian person becomes an obstacle course of what Sociologist Ken Plummer describes as the management a “discredited identity”. The “two main choices” that exist for homosexuals” he writes (are) “...to ‘go public’ or to ‘pass’ (Plummer, 1975, pp. 189). Clearly because of the risks and costs attached to being publicly recognized as a homosexual, very few homosexuals,...have opted for the former route”. He goes on to describe the way in which this circumstance handicaps the individual’s ability to bond with peers, co-workers, even family members. Such an avoidance of peers is nearly impossible in communities like the military where individuals are expected to both live and work side by side and face to face.

The tightly-knit living and occupational settings of male communities (such as those found in the sexually segregated training, living and working environments like the military services) make the concealment of identity even more difficult than it otherwise would be. Regardless of sexuality and regardless of location the intensity of relations between men in all circles of association is intimate to begin with. A man’s teammates in the arena of sport, his friends at school and university and his fellow cadets in the unit know each other better than anyone

else might know them including their own families. “That’s how it is when you are living in each other’s pockets for six months” says one adjutant interviewed. It is a bonding process composed of long intervals at odd hours, of jokes and mutual support that produces a group, a team as familial and as tight as any an individual might encounter over a lifetime.

These dynamics of male group association are paired with an array of individual psychological needs and qualities inherent in the individuals who compose the group and their respective *presentations of self*. Such qualities can include varying levels of social skill, varying levels (or a lack) of confidence, etc. In the ‘hurry up and wait’ world of military life small talk is universal. The rush to inventory and pack equipment and kit in an aircraft hanger or battalion headquarters can be met by a long wait for transport. The rush to line up in the mess hall for a meal can be met with a long wait to reach the counter. Discussions of families, wives, and girlfriends occupy a great deal of personal and informal time both inside the workplace and on off-hours. Heterosexual men account for their sexuality either actively or passively as a matter of routine (in some cases, hourly).

Being the fastest and the strongest, or *being included among* the fastest and strongest is a key part of young adult male identity. Strength and (sexual) virility seem synonymous with each other. From adolescence onwards throughout life younger men typically validate their identity, indeed their worth as men by discussing and inferring their own sexual prowess through jokes and banter. They outwardly broadcast their interest in women to other males in settings of all sorts from discussion of television and movies to sharing personal stories and identifying women they find attractive in their immediate environment. Such assertions are routinely followed up by inquiries of peers as to which women *they* find attractive, inquiries about peers last opposite sex encounter, etc.

Reflecting on Simmel’s “strain towards totality”, sociologist Ken Plummer echoes the community of men as one of intimate association that precludes concealment of identity (Plummer, 1975, pp. 189). It is an intensity of relations where he “is asked to account for his sexuality, his marital status, his use of time

and so forth". A sincere and realistic conversation with peers, a truthful exchange about their lives is fully precluded by current military policy with regard to discussion of same sex relationships. The reality of being *found out* or being discovered as gay carries the threat of expulsion, loss of career and livelihood. "The business of establishing 'full' relationships is a costly one for the homosexual" (Plummer, 1975, pp. 189). This is a primary reason why don't ask-don't tell is so short sighted. It fails to recognize the nature of males in working environments, even damaging the otherwise healthy trends toward cohesion it is supposed to preserve.

What is Military Identity?

How it differs from Civilian Identity

"The 'Total institution' may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life" (Goffman, 1961, pp. 10).

Military life compares effectively with life in very few other environments, and the people who choose to make that life their own differ just as greatly from those who don't. It is a life of regimentation and discipline, a life of narrowed choice and compliance, a life that on the face of it a reasonable person would conclude that young adults at large (in all their stereotypical individuality and desire for freedom) would perhaps dislike and yet it is a life they choose and even compete for places within. The benefits of military life from the concrete to the conceptual are universally-recognized by a select few, and it is the values system of these select few that changes the field of implementation, slants it decidedly in favour of minority acceptance and integration.

Erving Goffman's theoretical model of the *total institution* could scarcely be more consistent with the institution of military life. It is in contrast to that of regular civilian society where "the individual tends to sleep, play and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities and without an overall rational plan" (Goffman, 1961, pp. 17). The barracks structure

usually encompasses sleeping quarters, offices, supply centres, training rooms and grounds, recreational areas, dining (mess hall) and (often) medical facilities all within a self-contained habitat used by all members of the battalion. They are all as familiar with each other as they are with the layout of the Battalion HQ. Everything from the layout of the building, to the officers, the cadets and all personnel within it is a part of a singular plan. They are integral parts of the national defence. Everyone knows the role that they play. Everyone knows they are counted on by those in front beside and behind them to achieve the institutions objectives. This is the very essence of what Goffman named the *rational plan*.

To drive onto a military base, to walk into an army battalion headquarters, or to step aboard a submarine or destroyer is to leave one world behind and step completely into another. Everything within its walls, barracks or bulkheads is visibly and obviously an integral part of the *rational plan*. From its equipment and supplies to its weapons and ordinance, every member of its personnel from maintenance staff to combat instructors is assembled for a single purpose: strategic defence. Even its physical structure is visibly designed and built to repel outsiders. The social dynamics that occur within these spaces and vessels are regimented and organized around the central and practical theme of tactical success and survival. In short: all are working together. People on the inside of the *total institution* of the military have more in common with each other than those on the outside (in the civilian world) have in common with each other or can well imagine. Many central values considered important outside those walls are not considered important inside of them.

What *is* considered important inside those walls does much to shape what we have come to recognize and understand as the timeless concept of *military identity*. This is a self-contained community, a closed system, an institution characterized by, in fact completely committed to a rational plan. The rational plan is a qualitative feature that Goffman used to describe the overall function of institutions in his 1961 collection of essays entitled "Asylums". The rational plan is the pivotal feature of the institution it governs and is comprised of "various enforced activities brought together, purportedly designed to fulfill the official

aims of the institution". Qualities and structures of the total institution, specifically the 'enforced' qualities of it separate it distinctively from that of other formats of community living.

Goffman goes to great lengths to define the rational plan of an institution as contrasting with that of other (perhaps less formal or more loosely-connected) communities or groups (such as "housewives or farm families"). The rational plan applies to those "within the same fenced in area,...collectively regimented, who march through the day's activities in the immediate company of a batch of similar others". Individuals inside a closed system such as this are "supervised by personnel", writes Goffman "seeing to it that everyone does what he has been clearly told is required of him, under conditions where one person's infraction is likely to stand out in relief against the visible, constantly examined compliance of the others" (Goffman, 1961, pp. 17). These are the structuring structures, factors of the military environment responsible in large part for the behaviours and resulting collective identity that occur there. What is it about the military environment that, unlike the civilian sector, makes the integration of gay and lesbian individuals potentially such a non-issue? Is it the environment itself or is it the people who populate it? This research evidences that, in many respects, it is indeed both.

The military identity may be conceptualized as the sum total of two discrete factors; the structural and social dynamics of the military environment itself intertwined with the personal attributes of those attracted to it. The combination of these two factors (the personal attributes of participants and the closed structure of the military environment) create a system of interaction, a hybrid ecosystem of social and physical interdependence unlike virtually any extant in the civilian world. Thus the military identity emerges as the product of these two factors; Goffman's "total institution", specifically one "established to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds", and the individuals who populate it, united in their commitment to its ideals and submitted in full compliance with its behavioural protocols. These two elements combine to form the institution. It is an institution where a high

degree of commonality exists between members and a very simple, practical, and needs-based values system prevails.

First and foremost amongst those values is a privileging of the group over the individual. The unit comes before individuals that make up that unit regardless as to whom those individuals are. In short: unit life *is* life. The measures, specifically the *uniform* measures by which the military community is controlled and regulated are resolute, they are perfect. In short; they work in addressing the needs of the military occupational environment in its pursuit of objectives (e.g. keeping personnel safe, keeping order, maintaining productivity and meeting strategic goals). The uniform is more than a mode of regulation dress in the military and it is more than a code of justice. It is a metaphor for individual and group life. It is a metaphor for identity in many ways.

Regardless of uniform and details of rank or specialty, service personnel look upon each other with *uniform* expectations. These uniform expectations have nothing to do with gender, race or sexuality. They have nothing to do with religion, political leanings or socio-economic status. These uniform expectations are at times teammate to teammate, at other times parent to child at still others child to parent. Often they are sibling to sibling. While not always a comfortable exchange; the *object* of that exchange is simple. Whether it is getting a meal on for a buddy while he or she returns from patrol at camp so they can work on their boots, or keeping an eye on the occupants of a car while that buddy searches the boot for weapons. The expectation is 'I will support you while you support me'. Their identity at many levels ceases to be of Mike from Brixton or Paul from Merseyside. Their identity becomes as *part of the unit*. This is military cohesion, a powerful and enduring derivative of social identity.

The contrast between the regimented, integrally-aligned *total institution* of military life and the insular, disjointed existence of the civilian could scarcely be more obvious. The rational plan of the military environment, the *like-situation* shared by all members of the community, the physical structures surrounding it, even the protocol and tradition embedded within it underlie an orientation that guides behaviour. Cohesion in military circles is not based upon individual likes

and dislikes but upon the shared experience of 'like-situated' individuals and the overriding directive dynamics of the environment's rational plan. The circumstances of civilian life fall in stark contrast to those of military life in this regard as circumstances of division and discrimination.

Civilian life at large does not have a rational plan or 'like-situated individuals' working toward shared goals. "Civvy street" as its commonly referred to in military circles is a frenetic morass of conflicting ideals, competing interests and inter-group cultural clashes. At five pm city pavements are suddenly jammed with commuters each struggling against one another to get on trains home. Streets are equally choked with individuals in cars struggling against one another for the same purpose. Civilian life is one of individuals looking for an edge on one another with isolated purposes in isolated workplaces and isolated homes. What constitutes an 'edge' can be interpreted and exploited in many ways. It is this particular dynamic of civilian society that perhaps makes it such a fertile environment for discrimination based upon any number of immutable demographic characteristics including race, gender or sexuality.

Race, gender and sexuality are merely a few of the demographic dimensions of identity that can divide civilians. In a world of such broad diversity there are many such groups often at odds with one other based upon mutual and opposing difference in competition for resources (employment, housing etc.). Additionally it is not merely differences between groups that separate the civilian environment from that of the military but indeed differences between individuals *within* those groups as well. Regional differences, socio-economic status, even religion can split groups even further. The individual is an entity differently conceived in the civilian world.

The insularity of the individual in civilian life by contrast is even characterized by functioning. The success of the individual in the civilian world at large is usually tied to their own individual capacities and capabilities, i.e. that individual's ability to perform better than others. The success of the individual in the military by contrast, regardless of occupational specialty or demographic is tied inextricably to the success of countless others and vice versa. The *'like-situated individuals'*

and the '*rational plan*' of the total institution to which Goffman refers are qualities of military life that civilian life largely does not share. The vastly contrasting environmental dynamics of these two environments have profound effects upon the social interaction that occurs within them. Their differentiation from each other carries profound implications for the identity (both individual and collective) that each respective environment produces.

There are several aspects (internally and externally) of military life and culture that separate military groups from those of other environments. These aspects do much to influence the development of the group's identity both internally and externally. Elements both tacit and overt immediately separate the military from other social and work environments and shape the consciousness of individuals inside it. Guy Siebold, research psychologist in the Force Stabilization Unit with the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral & Social Sciences says "These features of military groups make them different from many of the groups portrayed in the general behavioral and social science literature" (Siebold cited in Britt, 2008, pp. 185).

These consciousness-shaping elements include structures of command that supervise and continually work to regulate their behaviour. The environment, the lives and the lifestyles occurring there are highly structured from workspace to living space. Additionally service personnel are often self-motivated and directed by traditions that surround their particular occupational specialty. Aside from being bound by such things as tradition and unified by specialty, military personnel are *physically bound* as well, restricted by a lack of basic freedom to come and go and an expected adherence to uniformity in speech, dress and overall protocol. "The group exists as part of a large, long lived, somewhat isolated, highly regulated hierarchical organization from which the group member cannot easily leave or travel about. Strong group leadership is expected. Members wear uniforms and usually are subject to control 24 hours per day" (Britt, 2008, pp. 185).

External forces play an additional and very significant role in directing the group and community identity development of military units as well. Occupational

circumstances in the military environment exert extraordinary pressure on groups in this way. Such circumstances can include deployment to locations that are potentially hostile and proximity to technology (that of both friendly and hostile forces) that is purposefully meant to cause harm, circumstances which demand an uncommon interconnectedness with fellow service members. “..there is a pervasive influence from life-endangering weapons and major combat systems, as well as the possible lethal threat from an external enemy force. Group members carry out multiple, mostly interdependent, real-world ongoing tasks” (Britt, 2008, pp. 185). The idea that *we are all in this together* is a pervasive element of military group consciousness even for those in combat roles, combat support roles and even non-combat administrative roles stationed far from any front line combat situation.

Such occupational circumstances even include meteorological conditions that can themselves be hazardous and serve as a constant reminder of what it means to be a member of this group. Unlike civilian counterparts, there are no snow days in the military. Military personnel work in every conceivable climate, in all kinds of weather including conditions that can themselves be life threatening. In interview, a munitions specialist with the United States Air Force in Alaska once evidenced how this feeling of interconnectedness among servicemen on his base manifested itself in the harsh conditions in a manner that strongly contrasted their existence with that of the civilian world. “We would never think of driving past a disabled vehicle, civilian or otherwise out on the highway without stopping to check if anyone was inside and needed assistance” He said. “It can be hours, even days between vehicles on those access roads and a person could easily freeze to death” (PFCW, 9/9/03).

Unit Identity: Esprit de Corps, De-individuation & Acceptance

The self concept of the individual as *one of many* is a dimension of identity unique to the military environment and unique to traditional conceptions of social identity in general. Social Identity is about a far more significant phenomenon in the military context than merely a means of self-definition. It is a dimension of military identity that runs deeper than the dialectic between the

individual and the self. It is about de-individuation, a process by which the individual, indeed many individuals are subsumed into the group and subsumed completely. The unit becomes a singular consciousness, a singular identity with members collectively ceasing to look upon themselves or each other as differentiated individuals. The job comes first, *truly first*, a job roundly understood as impossible for the individual to complete on his or her own to such a degree that differentiation of any kind between members becomes a notion so obsolete and impractical that cadets and personnel interviewed for the study seemed to not pay it any attention.

The loss of individual identity at certain intervals can, for units even affect the management of anxiety that under any other set of circumstances might debilitate the individual, a key function of unit effectiveness in combat. Author Britt et. al. sum up the importance of group cohesion and its relationship to morale and unit effectiveness.

“In the mortal danger of combat” writes Britt, “...soldiers enter into a dazed condition that can best be described as physically exhausted and mentally drained. When in this state they can be caught up in the fire of communal ecstasy (*esprit de corps*) and forget about the reality of death by losing their individuality and functioning with what I view as the ultimate commitment and application of professional soldiering”
(Britt, 2008, pp. 6)

Researchers have often referred the military environment as “team-oriented”, crediting the close “affiliation” of members as “important for effective performance under stress”. Britt, et. al. quoted in Stouffer and Marshall (1947) in finding that “...what kept soldiers going in extremely hostile conditions was not political ideals or hatred of the enemy, but primary group obligations”. It is the individual’s responsibility to the group that supersedes all else. “The soldier must feel a sense of responsibility to the group and subordinate personal concerns to the higher imperative of group welfare”, writes Army Specialist and Defence Analyst Major Richard D. Hooker. “In high-performing combat units, this imperative can demand extreme personal self-sacrifice for group survival or the achievement of the group goals” (Hooker, 1995, pp. 25).

This is “the nature of group relations” in military combat according to Guiseppe Caforio, retired teacher and researcher with the Italian Centre for Strategic and Military Studies. “In the combat unit” he writes, “special relations arise among soldiers so that the individual perceives his personal security and chances of survival as dependent on the security and survival of the unit as a whole”. The individual feels “attached to it and responsible for the groups’ fate. These positive functions of group relationships,...relieve combat stress and avoid the use of individual ‘solutions’ such as escape, desertion and surrender which would have undermined the group’s survival” (Caforio, 2006, pp. 64). The feeling of attachment, security and sense of responsibility allow the individual to be relieved of the anxieties they might otherwise encounter in the face of danger and reinforce the individual’s focus on the group goals.

This (at least temporary) loss of individual identity at crucial moments in combat is considered essential to the mental health and survival of soldiers. Losing one’s self in the ‘communal ecstasy’ protects the individual and contributes to the completion of the job. When anti-gay or anti-minority advocates for the gay ban speak of cohesion as a necessary element of combat function worthy of excluding minorities, it is this sort of cohesion of which they often speak. Such advocates fail to understand that this dimension of identity is ultimately blind to demographic difference such as race or sexuality. It is a basic psychological coping mechanism that prevents trauma from interfering with rational thought (for the purpose of self-preservation).

It is a process that begins with training, primarily basic training. It is in many ways, concrete and *performative* ways, a ceremonial de-individuation, meant to be a challenge, meant to underscore the individual’s separation from civilian life and immersion into a completely different environment with different values and priorities. It is typically about many things but what it is *not* about, at least in the initial stages is individuality. There is an element of equality to the experience of basic training and to the experience of camp that has no equal in civilian life. It is a shared experience wherein many lessons are learned, perhaps the most important of which are the values system (i.e. separating what is

important from what is not), and the personal, the individual and the collective resilience to put non-essentials aside in service to a higher calling.

Basic training and officer candidate school are confidence and pride-building *transformative* experiences whereby the recruit's consciousness and identity are temporarily subsumed into the collective of his or her unit. Demonstrating the ability to think and act as a unit is the means by which recruits and cadets prove themselves worthy of the uniform. It is expected (and demonstrated in this research) that recruits look upon and think of themselves and of unit mates differently once their initial training as soldiers is completed. They are more confident, more capable and perhaps most importantly- more a part of the group.

Once the tasks that foster this de-individuation have occurred in succession (several successful training activities or a sequence of practical tasks completed on the job with the group) the individual will further rest that sense of 'otherness' and be more able to act uninhibited by the anxiety of building or maintaining an impression. The group will also share the satisfaction that the individual feels over having succeeded at the task, and be satisfied that they have done well as a group. "Once the behavior is carried out, the satisfaction generalizes to the group, making the group attractive to the individual" (Tedeschi, 1981, pp. 202).

The typical self-conscious anxiety associated with one's interaction with others (presentation of self) is reduced. Most activities in which one engages in the military environment are not a question of exposure for the individual but a melding of efforts by a team. The focus is no longer the strengths and deficits of the self. Such strengths and deficits and their yield of success and/or failure are absorbed, distributed across the group. "It is assumed that an individual's submergence in a group lowers self-awareness and concern for evaluation by others. She or he is not given attention as an individual. As a result there is a reduction of the usual inner restraints against doing certain thing-satisfying needs that are generally inhibited" (Tedeschi, 1981, pp. 202).

De-individuation is one of the most pivotal and enduring influences upon identity with regard to admission into the military community. It is the process by which the individual develops a sense of *collective identity*. They become a part of something larger than themselves they are diffused into a larger collective identity. Like the process of becoming a soldier, the process of de-individuation is transformative, a sequence of experiences that reduces one's internal and external recognition as an individual and increases their internal and external recognition as a member of the group.

This de-individuation or sense of belonging is very important in the military context. The risks that soldiers are expected to take, the nature of the activities in which they are expected to engage can be enormously anxiety-provoking, so anxiety-provoking as to reduce their ability to consciously focus on tasks. Given the complexity and danger so often involved in the occupational environment it is clear that any means by which to reduce anxiety is important, any inability to focus must be controlled or eliminated. This process of de-individuation in military circles can lead to significant reductions in anxiety on the part of the individual. They are no longer singled out from others and no longer single *themselves* out from others either. Individual responsibility is diffused into the collective. This allows individual members of a team greater ability to apply conscious attention on tasks.

This de-individuation is not a feeling or an opinion but an *orientation* underlying the collective thought process of group members. It is found in virtually no other environment but that of military life in general, specifically the combat environment . Under catastrophic circumstances it voids emotion, speeds decision-making and functions as a peerless tool for survival and combat effectiveness. Members step completely outside of themselves in a pragmatic, mission-focused drive to complete a task or series of tasks to the exclusion of all else including regard for their own personal safety. It is a cohesion unlike any found in other environments, an unconscious dimension of unit effectiveness.

The heightened alertness, confidence and willingness to take risks is not simply a noble and self-less gesture committed out of courage but moreover a

psychodynamic technique rooted in an identity of collectivity and *thought substitution*.²¹ The close camaraderie and cohesion produced by basic training, reinforced by the mutual reliance of unit members during combat and dangerous training manoeuvres produces what psychotherapists refer to as “intentional forgetting” of the life-threatening dynamics that surround them. It is this thought substitution that allows the individual soldier to manage the anxiety of mortal danger whilst maintaining an appropriate grip on the reality of circumstances critical to the successful completion of the task or mission at hand. This is more than simple cohesion this is military cohesion. It is a tree with perhaps roots in social interaction but with branches that spread out and reach to points higher on the complexity scale for very specific and practical purposes.

These are not “regular” people-these are soldiers. Their sense of individual and sense of community identity is different from that of civilian people at large and their social interaction with each other is different as well. The nature of their occupational and living environment and the nature of the work they do make them *inherently* more reliant upon each other than their civilian counterparts would be. As evidenced by the nation’s integration of blacks and women and the conduct of cadets and officers interviewed and observed for this study, social interchange of this depth under circumstances such as this is truly blind to such difference. Advocates of a gay ban fail to understand that the identity they speak of, the type of cohesion and morale and the unit effectiveness that this environment generates is ultimately blind to demographic differences such as these.

It is the environmental dynamics of *military* life, and not the socio-political dynamics of civilian life that shape the timeless and impenetrable identity of soldiering, an identity that the presence of individual immutable demographic differences (such as race or sexuality) cannot overrun. Over time the faces of the officer and enlisted communities may change yet certain characteristics, certain

²¹ A “...technique of thinking about something else when cues for the unwanted though (i.e. thoughts that produce fear) come to mind” (Hertel, Calcaterra, 2005, pp. 484). In combat individual soldiers are aware of the dynamics and negative circumstances around them, however the mutual trust they share as a unit moderates that awareness limiting the otherwise normal propensity to panic.

consciousnesses, certain ideals remain the same. The military identity is as resolute as it is resilient, as unmistakable as it is unbreakable. The population of individuals who embody that identity may change over time but the identity itself, the archetype of *who those individuals are* and the qualities associated with them, even perceived at face value to be embedded within them has not changed for centuries.

Summary: Identity

“In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation”
(Hall, J and DuGay, P. 1996, pp. 2)

It is a psychological label applied to groups and individuals denoting a wide array of characteristics. It is at times a mark of privilege and acceptance, while at others a scarlet letter of discrimination and even persecution. It is a psychological blanket of security, a unit of social currency that scarcely changes value and a driver of human behaviour that seemingly has no equal. The concept of identity is many things in the social sciences however discovering the full explanatory value of identity as a driver of behaviour requires its examination in the wider philosophical context. As a social science paradigm it is a powerful device yet only when one also understands it from a philosophical perspective can one truly grasp the implications it carries for social behaviour. Ultimately identity is a process, a metaphysical and reflexive process of making meaning.

From the developing infant at the beginning of this chapter gazing up at adults surrounding the crib to the siblings, parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents upon which that infant relies for care identity is an evolving continuum for all. Everything from the self-perception and developmental processes that inform those identities to the responses that those identities elicit from others are products of the self-sustaining ecology of social structure. The explanation of this social structure and the means by which changes occur within it finds

foundation in sociology and across the social sciences in general however its wider philosophical dimensions cannot be ignored.

The structure of a social environment is a consciousness separate from the individuals within it, a third party entity regarded by theorists (Giddens, et. al.) as “...external to human action, as a source of constraint on the free initiative of the independently constituted subject”. Social structure is the enclosure within which the phenomena of social action (including that of identity) and that of interaction occurs. Giddens illustrates the concept “... in terms of visual imagery, akin to the skeleton or morphology of an organism or to the girders of a building” (Giddens, 1986, pp. 17).

Social structure is often casually conceptualized in these strong i.e. concrete, iron-clad terms, rigid, absolute, defensive, and impermeable. This thesis asks the social science community to consider other metaphors and interpretations of social structure based primarily upon the metaphors it has already chosen, a slightly different view of the same object. It urges an alternative means of looking at the assignment of identity, a less conventional yet nonetheless valid means of regarding social structure as both a structure and as an organism. To those who see the iron framework of a building it asks them to look at the relevant pattern(s) of spaces between the girders. To those who see a skeletal structure, it asks for an appreciation of the system of the equally powerful elastic tissue that connects the metaphorical bones. These patterns are just as perceptible, yet somehow less likely to be observed.

There is a flexibility even fluidity to identity and to social structure, indeed there must be for each to be of such enduring strength. Identity and social structure both expand to provide containment, rigidify to repel, permeate to provide inclusion, flex to absorb impact, rearrange and evolve across generations to maintain strategic advantage. The power enlisted by the density of bone is complemented by the spongy elasticity of its connective tissues. Effective homeostasis depends upon the healthy function and interaction of both. Misunderstanding the dynamics identity and social structure, specifically the nature of their enduring strength as at once both concrete and reflexive is

responsible for much of the limitations of (written) policy designed to maintain or “protect” them. Such misunderstanding can inevitably handicap society’s ability to respond effectively to variations it encounters with regard to minority groups, groups like gays and lesbians.

Reflexivity & Osmotic Pressure: A Metaphor for Change

Threats to identity, specifically threats that critics say homosexuality poses to military *identity* and to the military *social structure* which cultivates cohesion and morale are exaggerated and overestimated when viewed from an outside perspective. This outside perspective includes civilians without experience of the military environment. It also includes veterans not currently serving but regarding their own experiences through the often inaccurate lenses of recollection tainted as they so often are by personally held social and political ideology. This is a view that is categorically different from those of the men and women currently *involved in* and *affected by* the environment and what occurs there on a daily basis.

Those who warn of such threats take a narrow and inaccurate view of both. What this study will evidence is that known or ‘out’ homosexuals in uniform cannot realistically threaten the prestige, cohesion, morale or other aspects of identity that the armed forces seek to instill or maintain. This lack of threat can be attributed less to the strength of homosexuality as a stigma *in particular* than it can to the resilience of identity and the enduring strength of social structure *in general*. Military identity, just like any other sort of identity paradigm, and military social structure, just like any other social structure has the flexibility, the power to define, redefine and reproduce itself in the face of virtually any such threat.

Like the simplest, most basic concept of identity itself, social structure, for all its perceived rigidity has a propensity for evolution, an over-arching and innate tendency toward change as a matter of course throughout its life cycle. This evolutionary quality is central to its power as a basis for social activity and to its authority as a measure of control. Dependent upon the shifting currents of social needs and social exchange(s) within the environment in which it is situated

and the identity needs of the individuals who populate it, a social structure is subject to forces acting upon it from outside and from within. It has a propensity to evolve based upon changing circumstances. Understanding this propensity, harnessing it to inform measures of integration appropriately will effectuate changes largely by design.

The rigid skeletal system and the structural comparisons with osteology are not the only structural metaphor that biology and medicine can offer to effectively illustrate the mechanics of social structure. The body has a range of complex tissues and organ systems to illustrate this phenomenon and permeability should not be regarded as a sign of weakness. The circulatory system with its network of blood vessels and capillaries are themselves a structure with a medium of action, a process and an outcome similar to that of social structure. A methyl, added to a substance lowers the molecular weight of that substance thus increasing its permeability into a membrane and speeding it past the blood vessel wall. The process is often used in the development of pharmaceuticals to assist the metabolism of drugs in psychiatric treatment. Like the walls of a blood vessel or the membrane of a cell social structure is an enclosure with a reflexive quality. It recognizes what it needs externally and absorbs it endosmotically.

Structuration

Like the physical properties of the blood vessel wall pursuant to the laws of biochemical engineering, social structure abides by a homeostasis that allows it to responsively (and reflexively) change when confronted with needs and circumstances that its existing composition is unequipped to handle. This variably occlusive nature of social structure or what Giddens calls the “duality of structure” is the foundation of his “structuration theory”. It describes a balance of power in which “neither the human agent nor society is regarded as having primacy”, a “... recursive process in which ‘structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices’”. For Giddens it is a reality of social life, a seemingly disorganized and often thoroughly contextual phenomenon that is difficult to pattern as it is the sum of action and circumstance “bound up in time and space”, the product of “intended and unintended consequences of human conduct” (Dyck, Kearns, 2006, pp. 87).

A treatise of Post Cartesian Western Metaphysics, *structuration theory* held that social structure and the individual (within it) work to balance out one another in an ecological system of activity reflective of Bourdieu's "duality of structure in which structures are not only the outcome but the reflexive medium of action" (Beck, et. al., 1994, pp. 154). Social structure, including the military social structure is not just an inert empty vessel or sterile beaker in which a chemical reaction takes place or a basic agar-filled petri dish in which bacterium reproduce but a consciousness of sorts. The social structure is an entity with its own memory, disposition and unique proclivities, an actor with an integral role to play in the conception and subsequent reproduction of social phenomena.

To regard action and interaction between individuals and groups within the social structure without paying attention to the changes and movement of the structure itself is to miss half the action. Like the men and women who populate it, the military environment is itself is an adaptive living organism that adjusts to changing needs based upon internal and external stimuli. The structure itself is a participant with a particular movement and self-sustaining drives. The cognitive flexibility to regard the environment in which action takes place as not just a container nor circumstance of that action but as a participant, or driving force in such action requires a particular approach to assessment.

The traditions of a social environment like the military occupational environment, the conduct and completion of structured activities therein (themselves elements of social structure) do not necessarily speak in audible tones. Mess halls and classrooms do not talk to the researcher. Corridors and drill rooms do not have a voice and yet even buildings and spaces, their exterior facades, their interior rooms and corridors communicate so much to people passing through them. Additionally the uniform nature of activities occurring within these spaces underscores a running and coherent dialog with participants. Uniforms communicate through rank structure. Together with cap badges²²

²² Cap badges are metal insignia introduced during Cromwell's Britain that are worn traditionally on the caps of military personnel uniforms signifying "individual units identified by name and

they speak a language of inclusion via a shared history, not merely one shared by the members of the battalion with whom the individual trains and serves but one shared by alumni depicted in photographs and sometimes paintings that adorn the walls and mantelpieces of a battalion headquarters.

The raised reliefs of silver cap badges depicting horses, thistles, wreaths of leaves in multiple dimensions reflect light from multiple angles and elicit acknowledgment from multiple levels. Like feather and bead patterns on Native American head dresses, they broadcast a lexicon of symbolic representation. They are reminders of unity to personnel in the same specialty field, reminders that even within a family this large and this protracted there are still close siblings with whom one can directly identify. The combination of uniform and capbadge conveys at once a feeling of both safety and of expectation. Regardless of other changing factors and circumstances in the environment from demographic and generational changes to the anxiety-provoking and potentially life-threatening circumstances of combat this unity, this safety and this expectation does not change. This is the third party consciousness of the military environment, a silent and structuring guide to behaviour.

To elicit answers from this third party consciousness requires the researcher to listen for the consistent echoes that resonate throughout the interviews of people within the environment. It requires the researcher to observe closely the way in which participants relate to that environment as well as to how they relate to each other both inside and outside that environment. The common terminology, the language and sense of humor they share, the values system they have woven around themselves as a group and as a community comprise a common thread or set of threads which bind them all. It is a network upon which the directive dynamics of the military community are transmitted, a uniquely controlled, stoic and highly rational means of managing change both internal and external to it. This is what makes the military environment such a simpler and more predictable environment for integration than the disconnected

number and individual soldiery by standardized emblems of rank and arm of services” (Ward, 2007, pp. 10).

and mutually isolative environment of civilian society. The military environment, in contrast to the civilian is highly-structured with control factors already built into it including a naturally-occurring drive toward solidarity.

The mutual and abiding consciousness of all involved, i.e. the understanding that they are each an integral part of the rational plan alters the way in which social change unfolds in the military environment. The social structure is intuitive, defensive, relational and grounded. Changes are dealt with/managed directly and deliberately in a leadership-oriented manner. Ambiguity is eschewed, orderliness and control are expected. Internal and external drivers of change, those that don't come from the top of the hierarchy are moderated, controlled. The job comes first, whatever that job happens to be and any interracial, intersexual, interpersonal, intra-psychic conflict that individuals may have with each other is systematically de-prioritized in favour of the greater mission and goals of the unit.

The uniform identity of the unit overrules individual identity, thereby reconciling the internal drivers of change. It systematically limits the power of individuals, and individual *biases* to affect the operations of the unit. The ongoing influx of new individuals with new cultures, values systems upbringings and their own drives toward identity are thereby limited in their own independent ability to affect change in the military environment and its social structure. The external drivers; the expectations of society at large and the demands that society place upon that military drive those changes further. The demographic evolution of the civilian population (from which military personnel are recruited) and the practical demands of the combat environment (e.g. the shared experience of recruits in training and service, recruiting shortfalls and increased ethnic and sexual diversity in the greater populace) work to further that change.

This is the homeostasis of military social structure, internally and externally driven dynamics that aggressively and pragmatically govern social change within it. Social structure and the dimensions of identity within a social structure however must work practically for the good of the community to be self-sustaining. This is a basic foundation for the success of any intervention

involving or applied to a military force, including the integration of minorities. It is also a basic difference between military and civilian life.

What of the external pressures on the military establishment referred to in the osmotic metaphor of military identity and social structure? What makes a longstanding and some might say 'traditional' structure like the military a target for change from the outside? Sustained financial pressures can incite a lengthy and ongoing review of practices that lead to change by the civilian population that funds it. The economic dimension of removing individuals from the services for no other reason than their sexuality in a time of a two-front war is one pressure point. It is expensive, wasteful and war-weary taxpayers in the midst of an economic downturn have notoriously little tolerance for government waste. An appreciation for previous missteps with other minorities is another. Recruitment shortfalls, recurrent waves of social activism and a growing refusal by young people to accept gay and lesbian peers as anything less than human equals all add up to substantial and weighty pressures on the balance scale opposite the weight of "traditional" discrimination no matter how longstanding.

The non- gay society's perception of gay people, of gay identity has changed significantly over the years just as their perception of other minorities (including blacks, and women) has changed. The depiction of the gay minority in books, newspapers and magazines, the portrayal of them in television and film informs a widening opinion of them as less and less different. Their increasing visibility in everyday life by virtue of political activism, evolving employment laws, even the chronicling of their lives as members of society in the same roles (including occupations) as non gay people supports and enhances this evolution. The impressions of countless cadets, PSI's and adjutants of their gay and lesbian colleagues in uniform have echoed throughout the fieldwork of this study. Meeting the service test²³ has nothing to do with sexuality. Gays and lesbians

²³ The "service test" refers to whether or not an individual has what it takes to fulfil the requirements of military service. A captain and senior instructor on one of the southern bases contrasted it with other means of evaluation as informal, between peers, a practical means not able to be eclipsed by discriminatory ethos relative to minority status. "Minority status is different in the military", the Captain explained "it is less important than it is in civilian life. It isn't about being gay or straight, it isn't about being a minority or about being different- the service test is 'have they (positively) affected the unit's performance?' Nothing else matters" (Interview, 7/6/2010).

can *get on with it*, they can *do the job*, they *do* belong in the military environment just as much as others who wear the uniform.

As I trace the historical, theoretical and practical psychological and sociological development of the concept of identity and how it impinges upon the cohesion and morale of the military occupational environment I always return to those currently serving in that environment to illustrate for me their perspective. Their impressions reflect these elements of structuration as abiding principles and evidence the enduring directive dynamics of the military environment as the leading driver behind the development of military identity and the central backbone of military social structure.

“The cohesion and morale is based upon being together and sharing a common experience” says an active duty captain from the south serving as a senior instructor of his cadets and permanent staff instructor colleagues. “They take on the identity,” the veteran of the Afghanistan conflict elaborated, “we are all the same and at the same level. You are wearing a uniform, there is a hierarchical structure, there is a history to it, they are joining something larger than themselves” (interview 1/6/2010). These individuals are joining a social structure and the dividends that enlistment pays to their identity as part of that structure is a form of sustenance. Like the food that fuels their bodies and the water that hydrates them it is a necessary element of life. Their experience of it, their evidence that it exists is reflected and transmitted to them via the work they do and the relationships they find there.

It is evidenced for them by their relationship with a workmate who gets dinner on for them at camp so they can work on their boots, the unit mates they patrol with, the company they entered and trained with, and the battalion they compete with against other battalions. Their identity is the means by which they recognize themselves is as part of this social structure. It is larger than themselves as individuals. It is much larger. To them it is a larger social marker than their ethnicity or their sexuality, larger and more important than their religion, or their gender or any demographic difference that separates them as individuals, because here it is not about them as individuals, it is about them as a

group. This is the power of social structure and identity as a driver of social behaviour in the military environment. From the bottom of the hierarchy to the very top, it and it alone outranks all else.

Chapter 6

Methodology II: Blueprints, Tools and the Narrative Journey into the UOTC

Introduction

Pursuant to the theoretical orientation that shapes the primary methods of data collection (discussed in the previous chapter) which establish the framework of the inquiry, this chapter examines the actual research strategy itself including the sampling methods, the collection, management and analysis of data involved. It also reflects upon the ethics of the study and the research methods chosen. From the enthusiastic faces of first year cadets to the placid, confident faces of officers from SAS, infantry and armour corps to the faceless persona of the military social environment and the regulatory regime found there every research subject has an integral part to play. Each is a significant piece of the framework. From theory to practice this chapter explains how those pieces fit together. This chapter will examine and explain the choices behind the actual methods. It will trace the way in which those methods were applied to the task in light of practical circumstances and in the face of (often) considerable practical obstacles. It will also trace how the survey and semi-structured interviews were designed, how the data was managed and ultimately how it was analysed.

Even with framework and methodology successfully established the journey toward field work and understanding cannot depart without overcoming significant barriers from the practical and the legal to the bureaucratic and the ethical. This study encountered virtually all of those barriers which required an uncommon patience and resourcefulness from me to overcome. My quickly growing knowledge of MOD terminology and slang began immediately, followed by a detailed understanding of security, authorization protocols and access procedures, UOTC administrative structure and hierarchy. It is an understanding that was rigorously ingrained in me over the course of the autumn 2008 and spring of 2009. There are serious and concrete rationales for all these structures. I have been trained in all of them. They are lessons I will never forget and the starting point for where this research truly begins.

When a researcher, anxious to begin a field project considers potential barriers and problems he or she may face in the field, especially in as field dynamic and ever-changing as that of military training the imagination tends to run wildly and not always in practical directions. This was the point at which 2009, the second year of this study began. Following an exhaustive exploration of the philosophical and methodological dimensions of research in the first year (September of 2008 to June of 2009), including ethical considerations, the assurance of the safety of hundreds of minority and non-minority cadets, the critical evaluation of dozens of methods and approaches began.

Once a researcher understands the complex sociological concepts of identity, social structure/regulatory regime, division of labour and the *total institution* of the military, and is able to relate them to the goals of the study; the daunting task of designing a methodology to assess such concepts in real life begins to unfold. The survey is the primary foray into the cadet training environment. Its demographic questions will define them as a nationwide community. Its substantive questions will define their acknowledgement of and response to minorities as well as how well they function and identify as a team. Understanding what to ask and how to ask it is an unusual challenge. What became very clear very quickly was that the survey would have to be prepared to elicit data from cadets in a manner consistent with their normal everyday classroom activities. Only years of experience within the military classroom environment and a thorough understanding of its goals and objectives can successfully inform this process.

Research Aim

The objectives of the research include surveying UOTC Army cadets as to (1) their perception of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness in their respective battalions alongside (2) their awareness of minorities (including sexual minorities; gay, lesbian bisexual) in their military occupational environment, (3) their attitude toward those minorities and (4) determining the impact (or lack thereof) of gay and lesbian cadets on the perceived cohesion, morale and unit

effectiveness of their battalion. A second objective of the research is to achieve data that will allow me to isolate and question the invisible third party in the military environment; that of the social structure and resulting regulatory regime embedded there. What are the perceived affects of military social structure upon individuals and groups within the environment?

Identifying an appropriate theoretical orientation and methodology to elucidate the perception and directive elements of this social structure was just the first of many steep hills. The structured and organized research of Weber, the philosophically-salient lines of Durkheim and the structured observations of Talcott Parsons and countless other authors reviewed for this study present a deceptively simple take on social science to a researcher first entering the field. The smooth consistent contours of social behaviour depicted by Goffman evoke images of a reasoned understanding of sociology that seems to open *itself* up for clarification in a civilized and rational manner. Almost all theoretical research examined for this study was characterized by a soft and gentle rhythm of logic in which discernable patterns of observable behaviour quietly unfolded.

However for me as a researcher doing this work, the real world is loud and inconsistent made up of more the rough edges and inconsistency of reality than of the prosaic metaphorical smoothness and open doors to understanding which seem to characterize classical theory. In the search for doors to understanding in sociology, especially in the military, one often finds walls. Not simply metaphorical walls of social structure or walls to understanding but tall ones made of concrete and topped with barbed wire, sometimes guarded by very large and armed men with little appreciation for the researcher's sense of humour and social skills. Informing effective policy by assessing individual attitude alongside elements of social structure and group perception is a complex and multi-faceted task. When the group to be assessed is assembled and trained for the pragmatic duties of military service that assessment is rarely a clear-cut or simple one.

Many studies examine the social theory of groups as applied to a variety of frameworks. Families, human resources, politics and even team sports are areas of focus. However the military is less frequently investigated for many reasons. Unlike the public sector, the defence sector is a much more highly specialized and ostensibly closed environment. While few if any occupational environments are completely closed (even prisons have citizen and advisory panels), the closed environment of the military exhibits this closed nature of the *total institution*²⁴ on many levels. Not only are members of its community restricted as to travel and other basic freedoms, they also share elements of a common language that is not used outside their community. The nature of this closed environment is detailed in other chapters, including how its nature as a closed environment enhances the solidarity cultivated by the communities who populate it. Proposals for research of any kind inside the military of any particular nation, especially by a non-citizen, especially in the time of war (as this study was done) are looked upon with an unusual degree of scepticism to say the least.

The closed environment of the military is not one that outwardly promotes a 'come on in and have a look round' sort of feeling and for good reason. Military bases, including those tasked for reserve and UOTC operations (e.g. the Territorial Army Battalion Headquarters at Northumbria) contain everything necessary for leadership in a massive emergency response both abroad but also in the battalion's local area. This includes medical supplies, weapons, and live ordinance as well as hazardous equipment and heavy, high powered vehicles for military use. Even in the interest of basic public safety a battalion headquarters is typically isolated and/or heavily secured. The occupational environment is unique in many ways and the demands that such an environment make on the researcher and his/her tools and processes are unique as well. Aspects and demands of the environment shape how the tools are prepared as well as how the fieldwork unfolds. The demands are binding

²⁴ The 'total institution' is a concept introduced by Erving Goffman in 1968 to refer to "institutions" sequestered from the general population with characteristics that "provide a barrier to social intercourse with the outside, ...often built into the physical plant such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, (etc)" (Goffman, 1961, pp. 16). This concept is applied theoretically and practically to this thesis' treatment of the military environment as will be elaborated on in relevant sections.

and never leave my mind throughout the term of the fieldwork. Such demands influence the choice of methodology and the techniques and devices within that methodology like perhaps no other environment can.

The environment of the battalion headquarters, *i.e.* the environmental dynamics of the military are as much a subject of the research as the individuals within it and so great care was taken not to disturb or affect the environment while it was being assessed and observed. The researcher wears the same type of clothing (usually polo shirt, khaki pants and black leather shoes) as do non-uniformed staff and officers in the battalion headquarters for preliminary base visits and interviews.

The training environment, even that of the UOTC/Reserve exists for one ultimate overriding purpose and one purpose only. It contributes to the security of Britain via the recruitment of its military officer (and in some cases enlisted) personnel. While there are differences between battalions based upon such things as region, and the occupational specialties of instructors they all share some key characteristics consistently across all regions. The home of a battalion (its battalion headquarters) consists of formal offices, classrooms, gymnasiums, munitions and military vehicle storage more often than not surrounded by high masonry fences often topped with barbed or razor wire. When not training undergraduates in military tactics and protocol they may be leading team-building exercises for local businesses or the NHS. The primary functions of these headquarters are reservist activities or other practical military purposes as dictated by the MOD such as munitions, supply and storage.

Interviews with officers and cadets are scheduled during periods on base when only administrative functions of lower urgency (such as pre or post camp equipment inventory) are scheduled. No recording devices of any kind or cameras are used. Notes for interviews are handwritten on plain paper and transcribed onto a laptop computer only after departure from the base. No materials other than those used by staff are present at any time. I am not in uniform however the differences between me and subjects are reduced to the

point that my presence visibly does not raise any attention. Groups of cadets sorting materials and stacking equipment do not pause or react as I pass. The ecology of the environment is respected and undisturbed.

The plan to have the survey administered by PSI (Permanent Staff Instructors) who have been in charge of the environment from the beginning is a critical first step. Nothing distracts the cadets from the dynamics and dimensions of their environment while they are taking the survey, not even the administrator who gives it to them. He is dressed in his usual fatigues going about his usual duties. The surveys are completed in minutes and sealed by the survey taker (cadet) before they are collected by the PSI and then ultimately the adjutant. Indoors or out, with nothing but a pen, the system could not be simpler or more effective.

This study is unique to other military sociology studies of its type as it seeks to gauge the social structure of the military environment from inside that environment. It surveys cadets and interviews cadets and professional staff *currently inside* the military training environment as opposed to those returning to civilian life outside the military in an exit interview format as most other studies are conducted. This insider's view is extremely important as the view one has from inside this total institution varies dramatically from that available (or appreciable) to one on the outside in ways that even military personnel themselves do not fully understand. These research subjects are inside, *embedded* in the social structure with the effects of the regulatory regime impinging upon them and their interaction. Cadets and under officers of the UOTC and reservists just entering the military do so with the purview, the range of perception of those looking forward to years on the inside and not the perhaps reflective perspective of exiting veterans. Their area of concern revolves completely around their unit and their identity as a soldier without the socioeconomic circumstances or geopolitical encumbrances of civilian life.

This study, *The Mechanism of Defence* assesses how they feel while they are there with all of these elements of the military environment impinging upon them at the time. It was important (as a unique attribute of the study) that the

survey be completed by cadets in uniform within the military environment. The road to achieving the authorization to question cadets and professional officers inside that environment during their training was neither a short nor easy one. A background in public policy and organizational theory such as mine afforded me a unique understanding of bureaucracy and a unique insight into the closed environment of military life and social structure.

Gaining Access: Getting Authorization

The physical structure of a UOTC headquarters, as previously said is secure and exclusive. Those who enter must have authorization. Those who do not are out and there is no discussion. Unless a student or an individual is born in Britain, or (secondarily) a commonwealth country of the United Kingdom they are not offered the opportunity to fitness test with the battalion. My status as a non-commonwealth citizen places me squarely in the category of outsider. My access to the environment for research purposes begins as a protracted and difficult gauntlet of negotiation involving dozens and dozens of written letters, emails and phone calls across the country.

I began with an approach to the chair of the military education committee at the University where my research is based. The chair directs me to contact the Ministry of Defence first in order to obtain authorization. Without a specific contact, I reached a clerk at the Battalion Headquarters of the London University OTC. It is the largest of all sites and one that I assumed that as such had the authority to hear and approve the proposed research. I made an appointment with the Adjutant and conduct a presentation in his London Office a few weeks later.

We met for a few hours and discussed the research, specifically the aims and objectives and the process by which I hoped to secure data (survey, group and individual interview). We reviewed the rough draft of the survey I had developed. The adjutant suggested various edits and the 26-question survey was whittled down to 19 substantive survey questions. It establishes the level of company and battalion-wide cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness perceived by the cadets within it. Additionally the survey provides a direct

evaluation of each individual's awareness *of* and attitude *toward* working with cadets of other sexualities, other genders, other religions and each individual's level of comfort with the group and the level of support they feel they receive.

The adjutant provides a few names of other adjutants (or 'adjes' as they are called) to contact at other university systems in England and Wales. This part of the proposal meeting is central to the success of the overall project. This allows me to open my negotiations with other battalion commanders by saying "I was referred to you by the Adjutant of London University". I collect other referrals to University OTCs local to each of those from *their* respective Adjutants as well. This in turn allows me to rephrase the referral to keep it local and comfortable for the next adjutant approached. This simple declarative statement in the opening paragraph of two-page proposal letters accompanying the survey to a dozen other adjutants opens the door immediately to establishing the substantial (snowball) sample enjoyed for this assessment exercise.

UOTC Administrative Structure and Hierarchy

There is a pronounced hierarchy to the military community that is unlike virtually any found in civilian life and the UOTC battalion headquarters is a prime example. A commanding officer, typically a Lieutenant Colonel oversees the Adjutant. In smaller Battalions there is often no commanding officer in residence and the adjutant oversees the entire operation himself. The adjutant (usually at the rank of Captain) supervises the work of instructors who conduct the theoretical classroom and practical leadership training of cadets.

Such personnel can include a Sergeant or an RSM (Regimental Sergeant Major) who may also carry out other duties with the battalion such as supply and inventory tracking. These officers supervise senior cadets and under officers who assist in the training of new recruits. It is the PSI's (permanent staff instructors, Sergeants and RSMs) who serve as the battalion's officers who will distribute the surveys to their respective companies (first, second and third

year cadets). I will meet these personnel and interview them at a later date after the surveys are collected.

A single battalion of the UOTC of a university or of a system of local colleges and universities within the national UOTC system is typically composed of three companies (A, B and C); the first years, the second years and the third years (respectively). The upper level cadets assume some administrative responsibilities including office management and helping to train the lower level cadets and new recruits at given intervals. By the close of the term, a single company of cadets in their respective year is small enough to allow each individual member to have effectively observed and been enabled to appreciate the efforts and input (or lack thereof) of other individuals within his/her company (and thereby able to evaluate the level and quality of exchange, level and quality of interaction, solidarity, etc.). Their evaluation (opinion) of the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness around them will be well defined.

The early indications of these levels (noted in field work as (Co/Mo/UE) are positive. There is no longer any pay for participation in the program (due to M.O.D. budget cuts) however participation (according to adjutants and officer instructors is as strong as it has ever been). This assertion by Adjutants and Permanent Staff Instructors is evidenced by training operations observed for the study. Drill rooms and corridors are coursing with cadets. Briefing rooms have few if any unoccupied seats. Indeed some are even standing at the back of the classroom unable to find seats.

While drill pay justifies time away from a paying part time job, it is clear that money is not and perhaps never was the primary drive behind attendance in the program. Students are attracted to the UOTC because of opportunities for adventure training and association with other students, a characteristic of the exchange theory of cohesion (as explored in the theoretical section). Indeed a UOTC battalion at large and the companies and units within them are an archetype for exchange theory. What is clear is that their presence isn't about the simple practicalities of financial remuneration. Their participation in the

UOTC satisfies broader, non-monetary psychological and social needs of identity and inclusion.

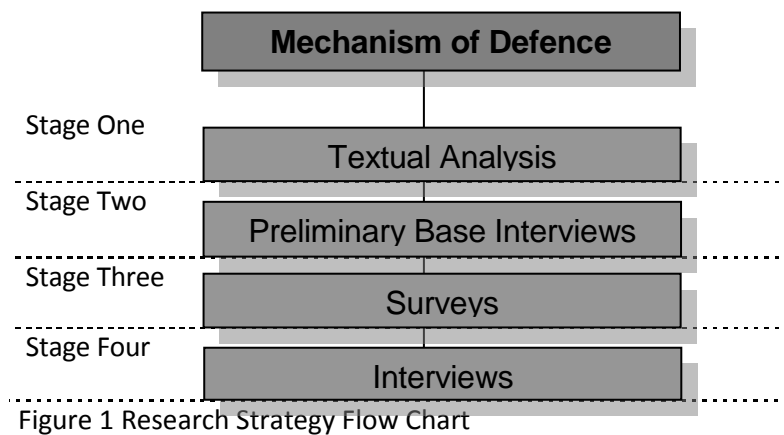
Research Strategy

Grounded Theory & Narrative

For this study I integrate data from a representative population survey with data from qualitative interviews to illustrate my findings. Generating evidence that effectively transcends the quantitative and qualitative divide requires the researcher to cast a very wide and quite dynamic net. It must be wide in the sense that it must represent the entire country (England and Wales) to assure reliability of the data across a population spread out across many regions and embedded throughout varied gender, ethnic and socio-economic strata. It must be dynamic in the sense that it must be flexible enough to operate in the varied, complex and unusual spaces in which the researcher, the battalions and members of those battalions and units may find themselves.

A two-tiered theoretical approach to research design and data collection and a two tiered approach to data analysis are here described. An ambitiously yet carefully managed process of intense high volume data collection paired with an equally careful set of analytical methods achieves the stated objectives. The research design and the approach to data collection have been completed within the theoretical frames of Durkheim's Division of Labour and social exchange. The analysis of the data collected has been completed in the light of Grounded Theory and Discourse Analysis.

The field assessment program, consisting of nearly one-thousand Likert scale surveys dispersed across the majority of UOTC Battalions the entire length and breadth of England and Wales will provide the at-large opinions and attitudes of cadets. This broadly-sketched frame informs semi-structured interviews with cadets enrolled and officers instructing and training them on the program. The process allows for the production of at-large data that stands on its own as well as allows interaction to be dissected and particular behavioural trends identified in the survey research to be appropriately questioned.



While gaining authorization to question cadets and personnel in this environment in this way was one complex and difficult achievement, deciding *what* to ask and *how* to ask it was another. What questions, and what combination of questions would best elicit data concerning the scarcely perceptible phenomena of cohesion, and morale? How would such components of questioning relate to the concept of military effectiveness? How might survey questions be ordered and arranged to identify the often scarcely visible outlines of social structure? What sort of answers might be expected and how might they best be captured?

It was at this point in the months leading up to the first series of preliminary base visits that the hugely complex constellation of potential research subject disposition (how they might answer) was explored. At great length of consideration, the product of consultations with advisers and hundreds of hours of reading and comparative analysis from the United States to Europe to Israel began to take shape.

Comparative studies of military sociology and psychology include work by Psychologist Reuven Gal researcher and former officer of Israeli Defense Forces. His analysis of "Morale and Its components" (1986, 87, et. al) provides an understanding of social phenomena in the military context. Christopher

Dandeker, Chair of the University of London Department of War Studies' 1996 study on "Gender Integration in Armed Forces as well as his continued research in the areas of gender, sexuality and ethnicity in the military context (1996, 1999, et. al.), along with such authors as Melissa Wells Petry, Mady Wechsler Segal and David Mason provided further insight into the effect of minorities (women and ethnic minorities) on the (previously) largely male non-minority environment of military service.

The most prominent point of departure for this study is a 1992 study by Margaret C. Harrell and Laura L. Miller completed for the RAND corporation entitled "New Opportunities for Military Women: Effects Upon Readiness, Cohesion and Morale". The exhaustive inventory details the United States Department of Defence's efforts in "integrating women into previously closed military occupations and military units and the effects of this integration on defence readiness and morale" (Harrell, 1992, pp. iii). A large survey and interview process of active duty service personnel (male and female) allowed men and women to report on each other as a group identifying areas of incongruence with regard to how males and females interpret each other's actions and determine whether (and how) the inclusion of the opposite sex (in this case female) may or may not reduce cohesion, morale and readiness in an integrated force. It was from these research studies that I chose to design an environmental inventory to provide a population survey to inform the interview questions. Such questions include how do soldiers officers and cadets make meaning from events, how they truly feel about their environment *while they are in that* environment and how might such elements inform or contribute to the foundation for their identity.

A variety of pre-made inventories were thoroughly reviewed for use in the fieldwork of this study. Perhaps most notably *Gregory Herek's Attitudes about Lesbians and Gay Men* scale (1994) was reviewed several times. Used by dozens of postgraduates at all levels to discern attitudes about gays and lesbians both inside and outside the military it seemed a likely starting point. Herek's scales, like many other psycho/sociometric sexuality-related measures,

though thoughtfully devised for civilian application very often use invective or inflammatory language aimed at identifying, even purposefully provoking self disclosure of personal bias from *individuals*.

An additional problem was the contextual framework of the questions. Scenarios depicted in the survey scales (e.g. raising children, non-military employment interaction etc.) are civilian-centred in nature and do not apply or do not readily apply to the reality of lifestyles faced by military personnel. Many questions within the scales are intentionally written to incite a defensive posture in participants that I felt would shift the individual survey-taker focus from the practical (work issues) to the political. At great length of consideration and consultation with advisers I decided that ultimately the study was less about individual subjects' attitudes toward Lesbians and Gays and more about their perception of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness as military social constructs applied to their working environment. Although an excellent set of scales with which to assess the socio-political nature of *civilian* attitudes toward gays and lesbians (in isolation), I felt that the Herek scales did not connect effectively with the institutional and community priorities or indeed the group-oriented, collective imperatives of the armed forces (as stated earlier). I also did not feel that the Herek scales would serve the purposes of isolating the effects of identity on the military occupational environment nor evidence the presence of social structure extant within it. As Hamlet discovers in the search for truth (by seeing Claudius watch the play) the *job's the thing* in military circles.

The social structure that the military occupational environment creates establishes identity, directs the activity and fundamentally changes the nature of interaction within it. The concept of "getting on with it"²⁵ was front and centre in all the interviews and focus groups assessed. As will be further

²⁵ "Getting on with it" is an often-heard phrase in base interviews, directives and informal speech in the military occupational environment. The phrase refers to putting personal differences and other non-essential issues aside until the work of the Army is completed (which it never is). Essentially the phrase illustrates the importance of the job over all else in the military occupational environment and the superfluity of and resulting intolerance *for* such things as racism, sexism and homophobia.

evidenced in the results of the “Mechanism” study; unit life *is* life and the unit (whatever its size and composition and wherever that working group may be) is universally recognized as being of greater importance than the individuals who compose it. It was for these reasons that I chose to design an original environmental assessment survey tool to examine cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness, a survey tool cognizant of this unique reality of the military occupational environment.

While a population survey was developed to assess the individual’s attitudes and opinions of substantive areas of the research (including cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness), it is important to bear in mind that cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness are not phenomena resultant *from* or pursuant *to* individual functioning by and large. Such phenomena are largely products of group function and environmental social ecology. While some individuals are perhaps more pre-disposed to working on a team than others and some are more predisposed to appreciating and/or contributing to the qualities of an effective group, the concepts of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness themselves are inherently products of group functioning. The group is the centre of the functioning paradigm in the military environment. In the context of unit life individuals do not tend to even see *themselves* as individuals in a singular way. Their identity is collective. Their identity as individuals is *as part* of their respective company and battalion (as reflected in the literature reviewed and as the qualitative results of the fieldwork will evidence). The results of the survey will inform the individual and focus group interviews specifically on cohesion, morale, unit effectiveness and minority (including gay and lesbian) diversity without the distraction of socio-political attitude.

Though attitudes toward minorities will be gauged in a comparatively non-invasive way toward the end of the survey, the focus of the study will remain on the individual’s perception of the group environment (cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness). Cadets will have the opportunity to primarily rate their unit for perceived levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness before being asked to indicate their level of familiarity with other cadets of the opposite sex and those of different races, ethnic groups, religious denominations or

sexualities within the battalion. They will then be given the opportunity to enter their level of comfort or discomfort with such minorities as well. Based upon tools used to assess the working environment of groups from civilian workplaces, the apparatus I have devised will divide the inquiry into five functional domains.

- Cohesion
- Morale
- Unit Effectiveness
- Diversity Awareness
- Attitude toward Minorities

Cohesion

The survey will examine the cohesion of the group with questions such as “Our UOTC group/class is united in trying to reach its goals for improved performance”, and “members of our UOTC group/class stick together outside of UOTC class/unit meetings”. These questions (and others) will gauge the level of enmeshment and cohesion that unit members perceive their groups as having.

Morale

The survey will examine the morale of the group with questions such as “I am happy with my groups level of commitment to UOTC training”, and “I enjoy social events and activities with my UOTC group more than social events and activities with other groups”. These questions will address the feeling of confidence that unit members have in associates to get the job done as expressed in military leadership manuals (Army et. al.) as well as the presence (and level-positive or negative) of a mental state they experience while working together.

Unit Effectiveness

The survey will additionally measure participants familiarity with each other, including and specifically members of the opposite sex, and of religious faiths,

racism and sexualities that are not their own. Additional questions will gauge the perception of freedom that unit members have to communicate with each other during unit activities and assess their collective facility to act as a unified group and perceive themselves as such. Questions such as (10) “We all take responsibility if one of our group exercises or training activities go poorly”, and (11) “If members of our group have problems in a training exercise, everyone wants to help them so we can work together again” will gauge this perception of unit effectiveness in a straightforward and comfortable way.

Diversity Awareness & Attitude

The diversity awareness questions will inquire as to the participants’ understanding of individual demographic differences in the group. At the close of the survey, the participants will have entered their responses to evaluate unit cohesion, morale and effectiveness. Sex (male/female), ethnicity, religious affiliation and sexuality are included in the diversity awareness section. In one set of diversity questions participants will be asked whether or not they are aware of such differences in their group (1). In a second question immediately following awareness, participants will then be asked whether such differences are problematic for them (2). For example in the short constellation of questions designed to elicit awareness of difference on race, sex (male/female) and sexuality, question (16) will ask for participant level of agreement/disagreement on the question “I am familiar with members in my unit who may be gay or lesbian”. The question is immediately followed by that of attitude, (e.g. question 17) which asks for the participant’s levels of agreement with the statement “Having gay or lesbian unit members is/would not be a problem for me”.

When the first three domains are assessed per participant (e.g. perceptions of morale, cohesion and unit effectiveness), the scores for levels of awareness and levels of attitude will be tabulated and analyzed alongside them between and across unit groups to check for correlations between them. This allows two opportunities to prove or disprove the null hypothesis. For example, if heterosexual members of a particular unit indicate acknowledgement of gay and lesbian members they will have the immediate opportunity to indicate

whether or not the presence of these individuals is consciously a problem for them. Additionally, the scoring of the other domains will classify levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness separately from diversity awareness and comfort level. The researcher will then have the ability to analyze the data in such a way as to infer the presence and level of any effect upon the unit caused by the involvement of such members. Determining whether the presence of gay and lesbian unit members has an effect upon the domains of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness may be assessed quantitatively and then *qualitatively* clarified by interview to follow.

The Structure of the Survey Used

In the overall design of the assessment tool every effort was extended to make the presentation as professional and consistent with the undergraduate survey takers experience of university forms. The booklet style was adopted to maintain the ambiguity of the questions prior to individuals taking the survey. None of the questions are visible to the survey-taker prior to detaching the envelope and opening the booklet.

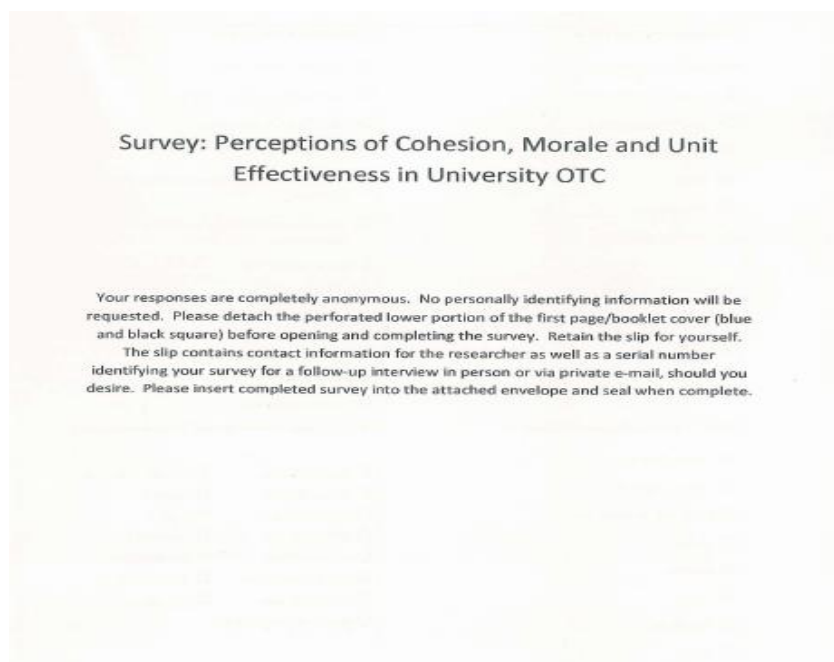


Figure 2 Survey Outside Front



Figure 2: Survey Front Cover

The serial numbers of surveys are not random but are encoded for purposes of organization and tracking. This serial number, displayed in the lower left corner of the inside left panel of the survey, the upper right hand corner of the right inside panel (in case the panels become detached in transit), and on the detachable card are each encoded with the same number. This three to four digit number details the company (cadet year), and battalion (city and region) of the cadet taking the survey. For example surveys numbered between 684 and 711 (batch number 8) denote first year Army cadets with the Northumbria Battalion. Neither professional staff nor cadets are aware of the numbering system.

Three packs of the survey were sent to each battalion adjutant (1 pack for each company, 25 to 100, based upon the number of cadets enrolled). Each pack was banded with instructions for their respective PSI. The band was imprinted with information detailing which company was to complete them. The three runs were then banded together and shipped via courier to the adjutant with a covering letter reviewing simple instructions for delivery as established in the base visits. The adjutant distributed each pack to his instructors (PSIs) on the night of completion and collected each at the end of the training day.

The solicitation of information relative to enrolment status, age, race, religious affiliation and ethnicity in the demographic section and their respective disposition codes is compliant with NHS coding on university health forms. These are forms with which cadets would have second-nature experience and allows them to tick off the appropriate responses in seconds.

Enrolment Status: I am a <input type="radio"/> First Year Student <input type="radio"/> Second Year Student <input type="radio"/> Third Year Student	UOTC Status: This is my: <input type="radio"/> First Year in the UOTC <input type="radio"/> Second Year in the UOTC <input type="radio"/> Third Year in the UOTC
Gender: Are you Male or Female? <input type="radio"/> Male <input type="radio"/> Female <input type="radio"/> Prefer not to say	My potential future in the forces: <input type="radio"/> I am considering a career in the forces when I graduate <input type="radio"/> I am not considering a career in the forces when I graduate <input type="radio"/> Prefer not to say
What is your Sexuality? <input type="radio"/> Non-GLB/Heterosexual <input type="radio"/> Gay/Lesbian <input type="radio"/> Bisexual	What is your age? <input type="radio"/> 18-21 <input type="radio"/> 22-25 <input type="radio"/> 26-30 <input type="radio"/> Prefer not to say
What is your Religious Affiliation? <input type="radio"/> Protestant Christian <input type="radio"/> Roman Catholic <input type="radio"/> Evangelical Christian <input type="radio"/> Jewish <input type="radio"/> Muslim <input type="radio"/> Hindu <input type="radio"/> Buddhist <input type="radio"/> Sikh <input type="radio"/> Other: _____	What is your Ethnic Group (Please select one) <input type="radio"/> White British <input type="radio"/> Black/Asia Orig <input type="radio"/> Black British <input type="radio"/> Somali <input type="radio"/> British/Mixed <input type="radio"/> Indian <input type="radio"/> White Irish <input type="radio"/> Pakistani <input type="radio"/> White other <input type="radio"/> Bangladeshi <input type="radio"/> Black Caribbean <input type="radio"/> British Asian <input type="radio"/> Black African <input type="radio"/> Chinese <input type="radio"/> Black-other, mixed

Survey # 1172

Please contact p.hodges@lly.ac.uk to submit further comments or sign up for a confidential interview (Prof. by 30th May 2018)

Survey # 1172

Figure 3 Survey form Inside Front

The questions designed to assess cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness are framed around an environmental assessment inventory. How participants rate each collectively determines the overall social climate and the level, nature and quality of interactive functioning within the battalion (i.e. the levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness). Some questions relate only to one dimension (e.g. morale, i.e. question 2 “I am happy with my group’s level of commitment to UOTC training”). Other questions might assess cohesion and morale at the same time as both social concepts often relate operationally one to the other. The rationale for this progression is based upon the needs of the research balanced with survey-taker comprehension of the sequence to create a natural flow of questioning. The composite scoring allows a thorough

assessment of cohesion morale and unit effectiveness as perceived by the cadets in each battalion.

Survey # 1172

Perceptions of Cohesion, Morale & Effectiveness	Agree Strongly 1	Agree 2	Neither Agree nor disagree 3	Disagree 4	Disagree Strongly 5
1. I like the approach to training in this group.					
2. I am happy with my group's level of commitment to UOTC training.					
3. This UOTC class/group gives enough opportunities to improve personal fit (with other members of the group).					
4. I enjoy social events & activities with my UOTC battalion more than events & activities outside it.					
5. Some of my best friends are from within my UOTC battalion group.					
6. For me, this UOTC battalion is one of the most important social groups to which I belong.					
7. Members of our UOTC battalion socialize together frequently.					
8. Members of our UOTC battalion would rather socialize together than with other groups outside of UOTC.					
9. Members of our UOTC battalion stick together outside of UOTC meetings.					
10. We all take responsibility if one of our group exercises or training activities go poorly.					
11. If members of our group have problems in a training exercise, everyone wants to help them so we can work together again.					
12. I am familiar with members of the opposite sex in my UOTC battalion.					
13. Having members of the opposite sex in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me.					
14. I am familiar with members of other races in my UOTC battalion.					
15. Having battalion members of other races is/would not be a problem for me.					
16. I am familiar with members in my battalion who may be gay or lesbian.					
17. Having gay or lesbian members in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me.					
18. I am familiar with members of my battalion who may be of a different religious faith I am.					
19. Having members of my battalion who may be of a different religious faith than I am would not be a problem for me.					

Figure 4 Substantive Sect. (Co/Mo/UE) inside

website in an online format to achieve the largest sample and to facilitate data entry. My chief concern with isolating the sample was to ensure that participants taking the survey would do so both in uniform and within the occupational or training environment. I am trying to capture the attitudes of cadets while they are in the social structure, not outside of it (as attitude and sense of identity can change based upon whether one is inside or outside the military environment. It was in the course of my pre-fieldwork visits to battalion headquarters that the physical circumstances of cadet life and training highlighted for me the difference between doing research quickly and efficiently and doing research well.

A number of battalion headquarters were approached before the survey was designed to ascertain the physical layout, specifically the classroom structures and capabilities of the HQ training facilities. It also allowed time to ask questions of experienced personnel. How are battalions divided? Who is in charge of what? How often do companies within a single battalion train together? What is the sequence of training? These questions would isolate the critical formulation of the survey design, its content as well as the manner and timeframe of its deployment in the fieldwork. It would also inform the structure of focus group and individual interviews to take place in later phases. It was on these visits that I realized an internet-based survey could not possibly achieve the sort of data collection the study required. The *Mechanism* study demands a large amount of initial data to be extracted from a population under complex circumstances within a very brief window of time. Between the Spartan accommodation of a battalion headquarters and the (often) rain soaked circumstance of Army UOTC annual camp; enthusiasm is consistently high but infrastructure is consistently limited. There are no computers, and often no telephones. Pen and paper and a reasonably dry patch of ground are about the length of technology one might realistically hope for in this environment. This circumstance limits the level of individual privacy and confidentiality a researcher can offer to participants in the UOTC program. Such confidentiality is a primary expectation of the UOTC.

Computer labs (lecture rooms equipped with individual pupil terminals such as those used for training in computer software at a University) were not found in any battalion HQ. The training is practical and interactive and computers are not used. Furthermore, the secondary sites (those used at camp) do not have computing facilities either and much of the most developmentally valuable company/battalion training events (and thus the most effective assessments) for the purposes of this study occur at camp. In terms of the time and manner of survey deployment, I decided that the PSI (Permanent Staff Instructor) of each company should administer the survey, and only in the final weeks of training and/or camp. This I felt would allow time for the effects of social

structure (i.e. the directive dynamics of training and the values system of military life) to fully take hold in new recruits.

I decided to develop the survey for strategic deployment in a written format, the design of which would ensure compliance with the critical environmental dynamics identified (e.g. ethical concerns relating to privacy, practical circumstances of outdoor training etc.). It would have to be a quick, easy-to-complete tick-box format (less than 20 substantive questions) with pre and post-test privacy features and a means of (re)connecting the completed form with the individual survey-taker for interview and focus group after the survey was taken. I chose to develop the 19-substantive question assessment tool with a familiar and consistent NHS-formatted demographic section that students would be likely to find on any university enrolment or information form. The survey is laid out on an A-3 folded over sheet of paper (two sides sized A-4 each). The end product is an easy to use, Likert-scaled survey with a completion time of less than seven minutes.

Speed of completion was a critical factor in negotiations with battalion commanders and adjutants for the window of opportunity to conduct the survey of cadets. Army personnel in charge of the environment (UOTC commanders, adjutants and permanent staff instructors) have specific guidelines as to the maintenance of student privacy. They also have specific timelines (and rather narrow ones) within which to present their coursework and conduct their own assessment. All of which must be adhered to under the very basic and often austere accommodations already discussed.

With regard to the timing of the survey deployment Army authorities again played a role. Ultimately it is the adjutants' responsibility to the Army to ensure that training measures are conducted in their entirety to meet the (year-long) goals of the recruit training program. The final weeks of the program are very busy as all professional staff (adjutants, psi and commanding officers) must ensure that they have incorporated all necessary intervals into each (especially the first) year of training. This is what makes camp such an urgent time for the battalion but also makes the sample at its most team-

oriented, thus emulsifying and defining the social structure. All functions from organization of patrol and other manoeuvres to the maintenance of equipment must be covered in the camp timeframe, and as such *time management* is an utmost priority. Any unexpected addition to training time (such as that required for completing a survey for a project not connected to the battalion) is easily de-prioritized or even refused and thus a survey completion time (of less than 7 minutes) was negotiated.

The camp and post-camp timeframes are mildly problematic and require slightly more effort from everyone however they are well worth the effort. The specific time of dispersal and collection of surveys is very important to the proof of this thesis. Gauging the influence of the military environment and social structure/regulatory regime on the behaviours, opinions and identities of cadets would only be effective after significant exposure of research subjects (cadets) to that environment. I decided early that the survey would have to be administered late in the second (spring) term, at some point near to, during or after the cadets' annual camp experience and before their dispersal from university for the summer. It was a short and fast-moving window of opportunity and thus not an easy target.

These physical, temporal and structural limitations presented firm guidelines to me as the researcher governing the nature and scope of the survey process. Those guidelines are best summarized in three points.

- (1) The survey would have to be effectively completed in less than 7 minutes.
- (2) It would have to allow the survey taker to complete the survey in the classroom briefing or (outdoor) camp setting with no access to technology, precluding the use of internet and computers.
- (3) It would also have to allow the survey taker advanced assurance that their identity and personal information would be shared between themselves and the researcher only and be protected fully and completely from members of their battalion including other cadets, their permanent staff instructor, battalion adjutant and others.

Not allowing members of the battalion to share the nature of questions with each other prior to completing the survey and protecting the privacy of cadets was initially a strong concern. The speed with which the survey would have to be completed limited its size as well as the number of potential questions that could be asked of participants. Technology deficits could complicate matters further. It was in deference to these points that the paper booklet was designed. Maintaining the secrecy of the survey questions, anonymity and protection of individual survey-taker identity was satisfied by the use of a closed booklet only open when questions were completed followed by the use of a self sealing envelope attached prior to collection. Once the booklet is closed and sealed within the envelope support staff collecting it cannot review the cadet's answers.

The process of uniting completed surveys with the original survey-taker at interview time looked to be a tricky one in the opening stages of the design phase. However the problem was quickly solved with a bit of engineering. The business card sized black, yellow and blue slip in the lower right (outside front) corner is perforated and detachable. The number (in this case survey #1172) corresponds to the number on the inside front (lower left corner) and the inside back (upper right corner). This numbered card is removed by the student prior to opening the booklet and completing the survey. This allows the researcher to identify and isolate the cadet's survey when he or she schedules their interview (using my contact information also on the card).

The number of the survey also allows the researcher to verify the validity of the survey itself as it corresponds not only to the cadets company (his or her year in the battalion first, second or third) but also details which battalion the cadet represents. For example card/survey number 1142 is a 3rd year cadet from Bristol University OTC. At the data entry stage each survey is verified (by number) as correctly deployed and completed in this fashion and allows the researcher to track the cadet's answers throughout the study in relation to his/her company, battalion and region.

While the window of opportunity to extract this data was strategically and dauntingly short, the design of the survey, including its selection of questions and its' unique physical attributes ensured the maximum high quality yield in a minimum of time. While much of the data solicited appears to speak for itself, a more direct and more detailed method of investigation coincided with the survey to build a more detailed and thorough understanding of that data in terms of the levels of solidarity, cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness reported by the companies and battalions. Interviews with adjutants, instructors and cadets fill in any gaps, adding rich and detailed *qualitative* flesh to the sturdy *quantitative* bones of the project.

From Survey to Interview

The process of proving the consistency of sociological theory with the reality dynamics of the military occupational environment is a multifaceted one and this investigation responds appropriately via three tiers of inquiry. The confidential survey assessment of cadets in the training environment, while they are in that environment is the key to the first tier of that inquiry. The factors and circumstances of their answers are just as important as the questions themselves. This is why they are assessed in uniform at the end of company training exercises within their battalion headquarters or at camp.

This data informs the second tier of inquiry; confidential interviews with cadets, their instructors and adjutants (those responsible for their overall training). Many instructors have had the benefit of years of active duty experience throughout the course of integration including the increases in the numbers of women, the children of immigrants and the involvement of gay and lesbian cadets and active duty soldiers. From Northern Ireland, to Sierra Leon, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan they understand phenomena that have the potential to affect cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness, including the dimension of demographic difference as they have seen it firsthand. Any attempt to understand the impact of the gay and lesbian minority on the cohesion, morale and effectiveness of the battalion, and any attempt to understand the complex links between theory, practice and the outcome of

such integration measures would be vastly uniformed without their opinions and observations.

The detailed survey of the cadets and the in-depth interview of cadets and staff instructors inform the ability to question the environment itself. Data obtained from both populations evidences its structure(s), its values and the directive elements that tacitly exist within it along consistent theoretical lines. The numerical data from the survey and its large sample also informs the many interviews and focus groups involved in the study as well to make the most practical and productive use of the interview subjects' time.

The interviews with professional staff instructors are another measure of the social structure. Their combined expertise, combat experience and perspective add a unique dimension to the evidence for the study. While individual cadets may be biased in their own self assessment and may (due to their own self-consciousness as young adults) miss elements and details of the experience professional staff instructors miss very little in this respect. Private interviews and focus groups with PSI's allow a rare insight into what creates and maintains strong levels of solidarity among cadets in the UOTC regardless of race, gender, ethnicity or sexual orientation. The fieldwork (interviews) and survey data are powerful pieces of the puzzle however it is truly the analytical techniques which effectively snap these rich and detailed pieces together.

The third tier of the inquiry is that of analytical techniques adopted to understand the evidence collected. The discourse analysis of the interviews examines the descriptions of interaction that take place between members of the battalion. This includes examples of teamwork, discord, conflict between cadets, between cadets and officers. Most importantly the analysis identifies where conflict based upon demographic difference (if any) may exist in the environment, its etiology and examples of intervention by superiors undertaken to control or correct it. Such examples are then evaluated for their effectiveness. Finally the discursive eye is trained on the descriptions of relationships that each and every member of the battalion develops in general. This is the analysis of the data collected, the third and final piece of the puzzle.

Analytical Techniques

Successfully evidencing the affects of social structure and regulatory regime as a tool for minority integration is a two-stage process. The first stage requires the researcher to evidence that the social structure exists. The second stage requires the researcher show the effect of that structure on the individual cadets, on the units, on the companies and on the battalion at large, including that structure's directive effects in terms of minority inclusion. The collection of a nationwide population survey and the aggressive interview schedule provide a wealth of data to be explored in this regard. However it is the methods by which that data is ordered and analysed that holds the key to that evidence.

The manner in which cadets are surveyed is anonymous, open, obvious and straightforward. The survey form and process makes no attempt to lead survey takers to a particular answer by largely restricting itself to the individual survey-taker's perception(s) of their battalion's levels of practical organizational functioning. Opinions of minority sexualities, ethnic and religious groups within the battalion takes place after this organizational functioning survey is completed, effectively separating any bias toward or against such minority individuals in the substantive section of the survey. This carefully-designed approach works primarily to reduce or eliminate bias from the start of the fieldwork. What results from the primary survey is an informed view of basic trends regarding cohesion, morale, unit effectiveness and the presence of any potential bias toward minorities (including gays and lesbians).

This level of care ensures an unbiased yet informed approach to questioning of cadets and officers within each battalion during the interview phase of fieldwork. Interviewees are comfortable with the substantive thrust of the research and talk openly about it without the (potentially) argumentative posture and defensiveness that a socio-political approach (e.g. the Herek Scales) might incite. Ensuring a lack of bias with regard to examining interview data is achieved through generous use of QSR-NVivo software to objectively search for patterns thereby avoiding the readers' potential perception of

cherry picking by the researcher to substantiate a claim within the research that is not appropriately evidenced.

The imprint of identity and social structure is widely characterized as a process, a progressively deepening impression that takes on a greater visibility the longer an individual is immersed in it. The indentation that social structure leaves upon the individual and its outline on that individual's identity stands in relief against those not immersed in the social structure (in this case non-cadets and officers). What I do as the researcher in my efforts to evidence this, to capture the footprint of social structure in all of its' individual and group complexity is in essence creating a plaster cast of its affects as one would do to define the silhouette a footprint leaves behind. This plaster cast demands a thorough understanding not just of identity and social structure as concepts (as established in the identity chapter) but an equally thorough understanding of young adulthood as a pivotal stage in an individual's life. Indeed the developmental needs of young adulthood are uniquely satisfied by the rich and fertile resources of mentoring and skill development cultivated by the military training environment.

What happens to individuals in that environment is unlike developmental experiences they have elsewhere. The demands that the environment make upon the individual are greater than a mere job. It is an integrated living *and* working environment with elements of particular physical and ideological enclosure, elements that work to drive identity and interactive social processes. From the practical and pragmatic dimensions of basic (group) living to the individual's reliance upon others for the achievement of goals from the most basic to the most complex, the over-arching envelopment of all individuals and groups within the systemic channels of the total institution carries great implications for the military as an occupational environment. Occupational environments have long been considered powerful shapers of identity and consciousness (Terkel 1975 and David 2004, et. al.). Occupational environments as intense as that of the military are no exception indeed such shaping effects themselves can be intensified in the military environment.

The way that one sees others and most importantly how they see themselves can be tacitly shaped to fit, carved by the rough edges and smooth planes of where they work. Like wind and water currents shape rock faces and tree lines the social structure and dynamics of the occupational environment have their own ecology. Not merely the military occupational environment but occupational environments in general have tremendous implications for the shaping of individual identity, behaviour and interaction. Lines of authority, hierarchy and the organizational structure of work processes are just a few of the channels. Individuals also witness behaviour(s) in mentors or those with more experience, tacitly recognizing which of those behaviours are most likely to elicit respect of others and achieve success for the individual and indeed *which behaviours won't*. They then model their own behaviours accordingly, applying or testing the same techniques.

Adaptation to such dynamics can affect not just the skills the individual learns, but can also result in fundamental changes in the individual's behaviour and approach to life management. It is here that the restraint of individual ego demanded by the environment (identified by Durkheim) begins to tighten. The shaping and controlling dynamics of social structure operate more obviously in the military environment than in civilian life. Like the deep scratches in rock from the movement of a glacier, or layers of bedrock exposed by wind and water erosion these affects upon behaviour are palpable, observable forces in the military environment. It is one thing to visualize these discrete lines of striation, another entirely to evidence them for a reader.

Evidencing and documenting these shaping effect(s) of the military occupational environment requires a multiple method approach to planning, data collection and even analysis. Prevailing dynamics are identified or at least inferred in survey trends and the observation of cadet teams at work. This informs the nature and content of questions in the semi-structured interviews. Detailed assessment of those dynamics including those of identity development can only be truly evidenced and explored in interviews both one on one and in small focus groups once the effective foundation of results from the completed population survey has been established.

Couching in-depth individual interviews of participants in a social environment using broad statistical data is not a unique approach to understanding. David and Sutton (2004) explain the power of discourse analysis in their own work that according to them “took us beyond uni-dimensional explanations”. The process provided the authors with “the development of a conceptual framework through which dynamic processes of change could be illustrated”. Neither the quantitative nor qualitative approaches stand on their own but work together to deliver a more effective research product. “The discourse analytic approach”, they contend, “...based primarily on our qualitative data, but framed by quantitative findings, enhanced our ability to analyse the impact on participants” (David and Sutton, 2004, pp. 57). The triangulation of methods thereby works to enhance the overall quality of the data and hence the evidence presented.

Effective management of a sample this large and this rich in data includes relatively detailed, strict and systematic guidelines for communication. Battalion commanders each receive the same outreach form letters in the same succession, the same number of phone calls and emails for follow-up. All communications by letter, email and phone are logged onto a master control roster with the time and date. To eliminate or reduce biased responses from the qualitative interview, transcripts all are combined and searched together as one document and categorized using QSR/NVIVO software. This organized approach allows analysis of the resulting data (*i.e. discourse analysis*) to unfold in a more effective and less biased manner.

The Lens of Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is broadly used in the analysis of organizational behaviour. David and Sutton provide examples from the environments of education and health care where individuals and groups (often of varied and specialized skill sets) work together to achieve goals, a milieu akin to the military service environment. Individuals describe to researchers how they relate to others, problems they encounter and solutions they are able to reach (or not). The researchers in turn illustrate using examples. The approach captures the

dynamics of the work environment, the nature of relationships that form there as well as the attitudes and opinions of individuals involved therein. The process also allows participants to provide prospective views on how their training and work environment have affected them and the work they do there as well as the affects of that environment on the way they relate to others. Self perception and the means by which that self perception is developed through occupation and affects cognition (an element of identity) are also illustrated.

David and Sutton's analysis of organizational discourses in the presentation of preventative models for social workers illustrates the potential for identity and cognition-shaping that the occupational environment can carry for individuals. Their examples also endeavour to illustrate the potential of discourse analysis as an effective method of assessment with regard to group and individual identity.

"I'm an OT through and through. It's kind of through me like a stick of rock. The words 'Occupational Therapy' ...Yeah, it's very much a part of me and what I do, and who I am...and, I mean, it's a particularly OT way of looking at things, this breaking down activities into their component parts, and see how people gradually acquire different bits of their skill. So even parenting my own children, and relating to other people, I look at it in a very OT kinda way"

(David and Sutton, 2004, pp. 57).

Interviews with individuals provide vignettes into the dynamics of the environment in such a way as to provide the reader with an illustration of the concepts presented (social structure, division of labour et. al.). Like the example of the occupational therapist presented above (David, 2004), the interviews provided an etiology for the perceptions of high morale, cohesion and unit effectiveness evidenced by the resulting scores on the survey (as will be illustrated in the results section). The interviews also presented strong examples of the ways in which adjutants and officer instructors both intervene in situations where demographic difference might threaten cohesion and how such high scores for cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness are achieved in

general. Particularly incidents of discrimination are directly addressed in the site interviews.

A survey alone cannot adequately explain the complex contours and rules of identity development. It cannot gauge the full impact of laws and rules in the shaping of identity nor explain the impact or affect upon the individual and the group when such rules are broken. Only a skilful combination of measures, strategically applied *can* do that and much more. It is about privately asking individual cadets how they feel among peers in uniform, *within the environment itself* that is the key. It is a subtle tone of voice, change of tone or perhaps even a momentary roll of the eye with which a cadet, adjutant or officer instructor may answer an interview question. It is an aggregation of measures; survey data working in tandem with interview data (both group and individual interview), combined with casual observations of the groups in routine duties that isolates the role that identity plays in this arena. It is an elusive concept to isolate let alone measure.

A strategy that integrates the enormity of a valid representative population survey with the intimate and more intensively detailed explanatory power of group and individual interviews will expose these elusive contours. Interview questions are based upon that representative survey data and as such will identify root and branch how concepts of identity and issues of regulation affect unit composition, cohesion, morale and effectiveness. It requires not simply half-hour interviews but day-long discussions and observations of individuals and groups over months of fieldwork. Through conversation, *not just questioning* it is the cogent, yet casual experience of their individual values systems, the comfortable understanding of them as people, their personal histories, their upbringing and an understanding of the means by which they reconcile all these aspects of themselves with the call to service they choose and the structure of the military environment imposed upon them.

These are the primary lenses through which solidarity, cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness are examined within the companies of each battalion.

Adjutants and instructors will have the opportunity explain in their own terms

how the desired affects of cohesion and morale are cultivated, how 'phobias' of gender, difference and even homophobia may be trained out. It is not an hour-long or afternoon corporate workshop or seminar on diversity nor is it a blueprint for one. It is not some *diversity in a can* scheme or a training session on how to reduce resentment in the work environment. It is a fuller picture of military group dynamics than that which has often been explored before, a fundamental grasp of identity, both individual and group and an understanding of the primary roots of cohesion in the military occupational environment.

For the purposes of this research, individual cadets (student participants) were interviewed (anonymously) as to their thoughts and feelings regarding aspects of the survey and on their performance or interactions with other cadets, superiors or subordinates outside the assessment setting. Specific areas of foci included the cadet's socio-economic background, family dynamics and family history in the services, areas of academic interest, familiarity with gay/nongay people in other settings, etc. Specific areas include any personal esteem for or problems with other members of the unit and the causality for such esteem/problems as seen by the individual cadet interviewed. Both gay and lesbian identified and non-gay and lesbian identified cadets and professional staff were interviewed in this way.

Ethical Issues

Research on minority issues in civilian circles has more than its fair share of ethical questions and problems from privacy and disclosure to risk. This is a sociological/social policy study yet the potential ethical issues encapsulated within it extend quite profoundly to individuals. Specific codes of practice in the discipline of sociology govern a researcher's interaction with research subjects with respect to potential damage the research might pose to such individuals and the groups to which they belong in civilian circles. Both hypothetically and materially, such "damage" can be appreciated, assessed and managed in non-institutional, civilian terms. However assessing, understanding and addressing the risk of potential damage to the individual and to the group posed by the research *after* those individuals and groups pass the civilian threshold into the total institution of the military is less clear.

A complex problem in a complex environment to be certain but this was not my first time facing such problems. I've served as a coordinator of research and development in the private sector, as a director of departmental human services research in education, as a clinician in adult psychology (also working with veterans), a consultant on gay and lesbian human services and as a therapist in triadic treatment for patients in gender transition. I am no stranger to ethics in research or indeed to issues regarding this minority, yet this project was unlike anything to which my experience had heretofore exposed me. While gays and lesbians are classified as a minority legally protected by the European Union they are still a minority and as such the case law and policy framework implemented to guide their protection en route to equality are still evolving. Like all research involving minorities and especially research involving students and young adults a particular and rigid set of rules apply.

Young adults *in general* and gays and lesbians *in particular* are a group categorized as 'at risk'. The period of adolescence is a complex and sensitive one, the activities and events of which carry life-long implications for young adults. I have a duty of care to protect and look after their welfare that transcends any particular research interest. When these protective interests are added to the interests of the Ministry of Defence in the protection of future officer candidates (cadets) in the training pool I faced a complex set of practical and regulatory issues exacerbating an already complex set of ethics on the study.

As a political issue, homosexuality at large still can and often does touch a raw nerve in both individuals and groups. Broadly speaking; the discussion of lesbian and gay issues, specifically at an intimate level such as this has the potential to incite feelings of anger, anxiety, shame, guilt and concern in individuals for any of a multitude of reasons regardless of their own individual sexuality. Not all gay and lesbian students are out to friends and family or even to unit mates in their battalion. It is the belief of *many* that a particular and important *few* would not understand a son or daughter, roommate or unit-

mate's emerging sexuality, as such might respond very negatively and hence create a difficult situation for the individual in service that is difficult to reverse. The welfare of gay and lesbian cadets, especially those in the first year of training were of strong ethical concern.

The concern for individuals involved in the study was not limited to its gay and lesbian student participants either. Non-gay cadets are also potentially at risk. At the time of this research, a fervent anti-war sentiment pervades the country following the controversial British support of United States military intervention in Iraq. Such sentiment often flares outwardly on the nation's university campuses and hence an individual's interest in or involvement with military service (such as a UOTC Cadet) might have the potential to expose him or her to derision or even isolation by civilian peers. The controversial nature of the research led me to confront a number of questions in the preparation of fieldwork.

Would the process of this inquiry have the potential to inadvertently expose, or 'out' otherwise closeted cadets and members of professional staff? Would the research potentially expose military cadets (individually and as a group) to potentially strong anti-war or anti-military sentiment on their respective campuses with the inadvertent disclosure of their involvement in UOTC? How might the survey and interview process protect the privacy of these subjects in a manner compliant with national, university and Ministry of Defence guidelines and consistent with the duty of care I assume toward them? The method and ethical section of dozens of studies from similar and adjoining disciplines were consulted in this regard and the resulting process was effectively designed.

The research design and inventory of participants were thoroughly examined and approved by the ethical review board for The School of Law and Social Justice at the University of Liverpool. The innovative features and carefully-planned deployment and collection of the survey as well as the conduct of the interview process more than met the needs for anonymity by the board. I

began the fieldwork confident in my ability to yield comprehensive data whilst protecting study participants.

Expected Results

It is expected that unit scores on perceived levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness will not be affected by the presence of (or awareness of the presence of) gay and lesbian cadets in their unit. Specifically those heterosexual participants registering a high level of awareness of gay and lesbian personnel as part of their social and work groups will rate their perception of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness consistently with those who are not aware of sexual minorities in their unit. It is also expected that questions on the survey, as well as those on the focus group and interview series with non-gay participants will evidence attitudes that are affirmative toward their gay and lesbian peers, or in the very least demonstrate attitudes of tolerance or indifference toward them. This will provide conclusive evidence that the known presence of gay and lesbian peers has little or nothing to do with the perceived levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of the military UOTC work group.

The survey and interview format also allowed the researcher to identify any problems with unit cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness that are based upon gender or sexuality of cadets. This informed an understanding of how such problems are dealt with and to identify methods of best practice in the reinforcement of operational effectiveness and military discipline.

Conclusion: Reflections of the Methods

There were truly a range of factors from the philosophical and theoretical to the practical physical and legal/compliance-oriented that influenced the design and conduct of this project. Concepts like social structure, identity and homophobia are complex enough even without the interplay of history, religion and politics acting upon them. This is one reason why background information and analysis of these factors is so carefully investigated in this thesis. Effectively evidencing the presence and influence of social structure in the UOTC/Military environment in a representative way required a sample of

significant size and geographic variety as well as significant time spent with each, in their respective environments where they were most comfortable to elicit from them honest and qualified answers as to intimate aspects of unit life within their respective battalions.

It is quantitative and qualitative, it is observational and interactive, it is reasoned and discursive, it is a detailed snapshot that grows only more detailed the longer one looks at it. The conceptual approaches taken, the methods used and the journey conducted as detailed in this study represent what I believe to be a uniquely British military approach of structure and order to the problem of discrimination that America faces. The environment of social action is more than a mere vessel or container. It has the potential to serve as a directive element, a central influence upon and even an ongoing, reproductive template *for* social activity. This is the Mechanism of Defence, a view of organized human social structure at its apex.

The results chapter to follow (after those detailing elements of homophobia and identity) will layout and examine some of the immense data collected during this project. It will do more than examine the etiology and progression of a growing change in attitudes toward gays and lesbians in the military occupational environment. It will illustrate the directive influence of social structure and regulatory regime as active elements of that change. It will illustrate a unique community of collective thought rarely open to outsiders, a community with a values system of such *concrete* pragmatism and practicality that the *soft behavioural options* of discrimination and discriminatory sentiment struggle to maintain a foothold. The results chapter will do more than evidence for the reader that this social structure exists. It will evidence for the reader *why* it exists, its effect upon behaviours in the occupational environment of the military and perhaps how lessons learned in that environment might eventually help to steer the civilian world away from the baseless discriminatory anti-gay ethic that has plagued it for centuries.

Chapter 7

Results of the Empirical Component of the Study: *Introduction*

“The British Army after the Boer War wanted to attract the intellectual capability, the ability to use soldiering tools. The Army needed to get its’ share of the intellectual horsepower that other agencies and businesses were getting with university graduates. The environments in which we (the Army) operate are hugely complex.” (Interview, 1st June, 2010)

The remarks of a Lieutenant Colonel supervising professional staff with one of the southern bases explains the Haldane Reforms, legislation that effectively established the University Officers Training Corps system of battalions to prepare university students for the military occupational environment. One of the first interviews conducted for this study, his remarks characterize not just the program itself concisely in purpose, methods and yield, but also characterize the cadets and professional staff surveyed and interviewed. Aside from the valuable findings this study presents, the basic portrait of the UOTC that the study paints fills the quantitative numerical frame of social structure and identity blending the qualitative colours of individual interviews to create a thoroughly-detailed rendering.

Encompassing the 12 largest of the United Kingdom’s nineteen total UOTC battalions this research provides as previously indicated an effective study of the British Army UOTC Cadet program. It is detailed enough to identify with some specificity the central and abiding strengths of the UOTC program, to draw inferences about the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of the active professional forces and to explain to some degree why the integration of gays and lesbians into the military forces of the United Kingdom has proceeded with such enduring success. Before examining the intricate graphs, frequencies and correlations between cohesion, morale, unit effectiveness and the demographic variables of the population, we share first examine the population itself. The level of available detail is a central strength of the study before the findings are even introduced and a valuable tool for understanding the context and circumstances of participant responses.

The Scale of this Research

The uniqueness of this study is not limited to its interdisciplinary lenses (including most prominently sociology and law). This is a population study, a total sample of equally unique evidentiary authority. Encompassing the twelve largest of 19 total nationwide battalions, *The Mechanism of Defence* study will provide the reader with first-hand observation, survey and interview of approximately 60 to 63% of all Territorial Army UOTC Cadets and professional instructors currently serving. A sample this large represents a rare opportunity to explore the depth, breadth and contours of bias and discriminatory sentiment in the most realistic and contextually-based manner possible. This will allow readers (civilian, military and policymaker alike) to inform significant understanding of this unique environment and draw strong conclusions about policies designed to affect it.

The Power of Total Sampling

The technique of *total sampling* is an unusual but effective approach to using research subjects. It is not a percentage of the battalions that have been surveyed, it is the entire battalion. There is a surety of answers not possible with mere representative sampling. Pockets of minority gay or anti-gay cadets cannot hide from a *total* sampling of a battalion as they might on a percentage sampling. The defined trends on the surveys are consistent across battalions in this way. The survey turned out to be more than an inventory of perceived levels of cohesion, morale, minority awareness and an assessment of cadets' perception of unit effectiveness. It also illustrated a comprehensive demographic portrait of the UOTC itself offering a rare glimpse into the institutional lives of cadets and officers.

Demographics

Enrolment Status

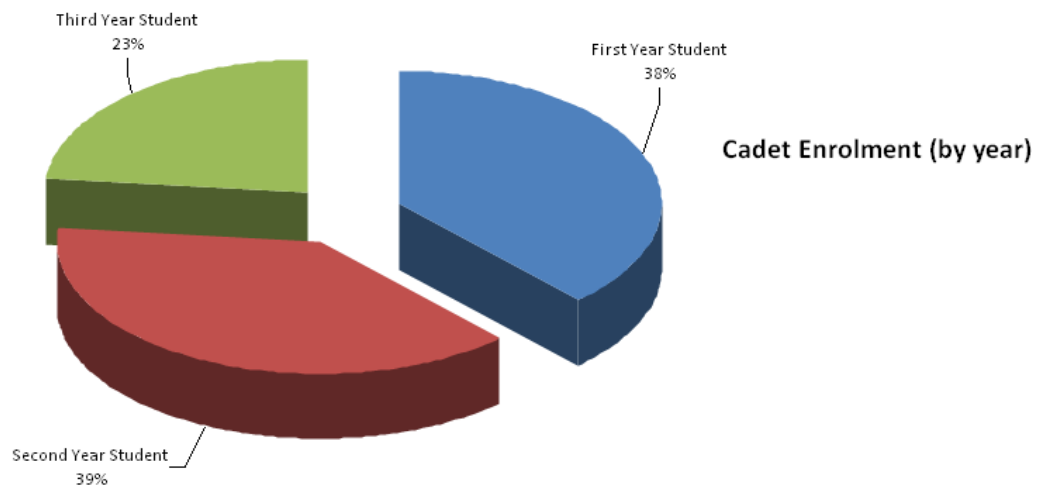


Figure 3: Cadet Enrolment (by year)

The proportion of cadets in the sample by enrolment status (i.e. year of cadetship) was something of a surprise to me. Preliminary research (base visits and other sources of information regarding the UOTC program suggested an attrition/retention rate that would favour first year cadets exponentially. I expected first year cadets to greatly outnumber second year cadets in a battalion, and vastly outnumber third years. In theory I expected first years to outnumber second years (those retained by the program) by more than two to one however in practice this was not the case. A fig. 5 illustrates, a greater proportion of the cadet pool (overall) is represented by second year students (38%) than expected.

UOTC Status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No answer	2	.4	.4	.4
	First Year in the UOTC	285	51.0	51.0	51.3
	Second Year in the UOTC	158	28.3	28.3	79.6
	Third Year in the UOTC	114	20.4	20.4	100.0
	Total	559	100.0	100.0	

Table 1: Participant UOTC Status (by year in UOTC) Reported UOTC Status of Survey Respondents

Sex

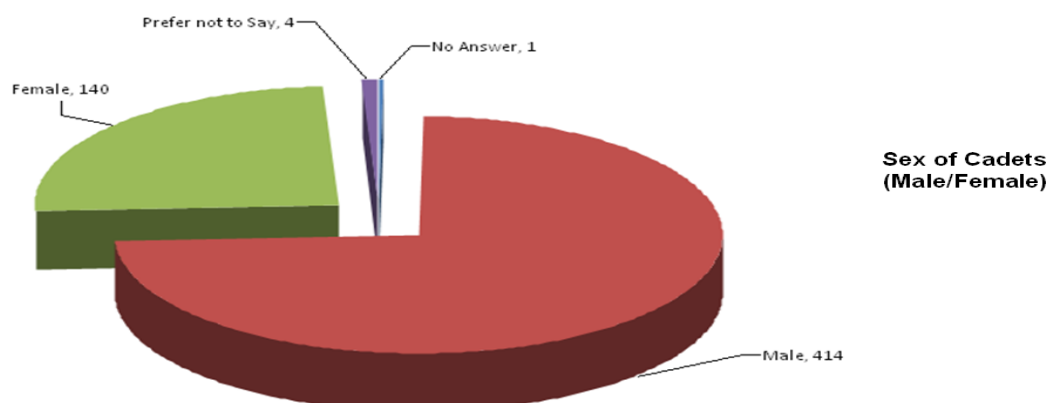


Figure 4: Reported Sex of Respondents (Male/Female)

As expected across the 11 battalions (at large) males outnumbered females just over three to one (414 for male, 140 for female). It is interesting to note however that while the number of women was consistent with the size of the battalion (the largest numbers of women corresponding to the largest battalions such as those in Leeds and Birmingham) dispersal of women across the battalions was not a uniform measure and the gender gap fluctuated between two to one and three to one depending upon the city.

Potential Future in the Forces

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Answer	4	.7	.7	.7
	Considering	447	80.0	80.0	80.7
	Not Considering	78	14.0	14.0	94.6
	Prefer not to say	30	5.4	5.4	100.0
	Total	559	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: Respondent's Reported Plans for a Career in the Forces

Consistent with enrolment status, the number of cadets actively considering a career in the forces upon graduation was a surprisingly swollen number as well with a vast majority of cadets considering. Those individuals not considering a career in the forces after graduation were outnumbered more than five to one

by those who were. The job market was identified as a factor by psi's and adjutants. The economic times of the present and previous three years at least have been marked by one of the leanest job markets for graduates in nearly a century. National pride was another factor that emerged in the interviews and observations with several 18 to 22 year olds filled with pride at the idea of being British and serving their country in the forces.

Sexuality

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Answer	2	.4	.4	.4
	Non-GLB/Heterosexual	535	95.7	95.7	96.1
	Gay/Lesbian	9	1.6	1.6	97.7
	Bisexual	13	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	559	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: Respondents Reported Sexuality

Cadets listing sexuality entered "Non-GLB" most frequently (n=535 or 95.7%). The number of gay and lesbian cadets varied across the units but gay lesbian and bisexual cadets are decidedly in the minority. Cadets identifying as "gay" on the survey often ticked the box over and over with a very dark and deeply imprinted check mark and often with a check mark or two after to the right of the selection. Those same cadets would do the same with substantive question 16 ("I am familiar with members of my battalion who may be gay or lesbian") with the occasional smiley face drawn in the selection box beside multiple tick marks. This behaviour may constitute an enthusiasm for being allowed to participate as an equal. It may also infer that more members of the battalion are gay or lesbian than those who choose to identify openly.

Age of Cadets

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Answer	2	.4	.4	.4
	18-21	446	79.8	79.8	80.1
	22-25	106	19.0	19.0	99.1
	26-30	5	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	559	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: Reported Age of Participants

Demographics on the age of cadets surveyed seem to fit the standard expectation of enrolment nationwide with the majority (nearly 80%) falling into the 18-21 year old category. The majority of cadets in the program during a given year will typically be the first year students, most of traditional age with a select few students of non traditional age entering as first years and thus carrying a higher age throughout their time in the program (0.89% in this sample).

Religious Affiliation

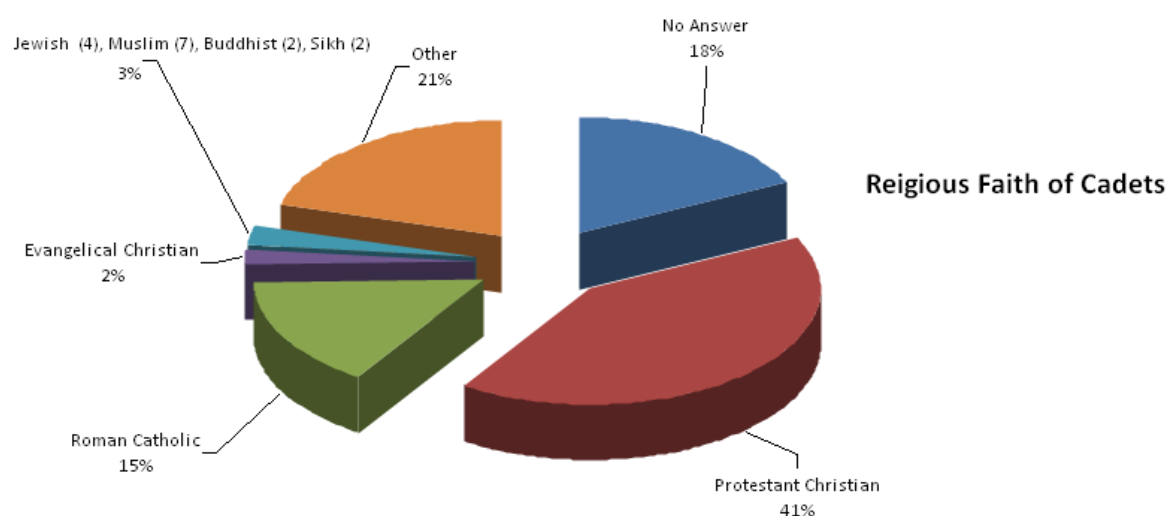


Figure 5: Religious Faith of Cadets

The majority of cadets registering a faith listed themselves as “Protestant” (n=232/41.5%). This was largely Church of England. The next largest group was “other” with the ability to write a faith not listed by the standard categories. 115 cadets (or 20.6%) chose this option. Roman Catholic cadets (n=86 or 15.4%) represented the third largest group. Those listing themselves as “other” and entering a faith in the open ended slot elected to list themselves as “Atheist” (n=47 or 8.5%), “Agnostic” (n=20 or 3.6%) and “Jedi” (n=8 or 1.4%)²⁶. 25 of those using the space to enter a faith wrote “none” and

²⁶ The religious denomination elected and written in by a number of survey respondents identifies respondents as followers of a faith portrayed in a popular culture science fiction fantasy trilogy developed by George Lucas with a series of films debuting from 1977 to present day. The self-selected identification of cadets appears written for humorous effect, however, the faith, characterized by a central doctrine that includes a belief in the existence of a singular energy field uniting the universe via sides both “light” and “dark” is (since 2001) “included on the British

sometimes in large dark capitol. The emphatic nature of this depiction suggests much about these cadets' attitudes toward religion.

Ethnicity

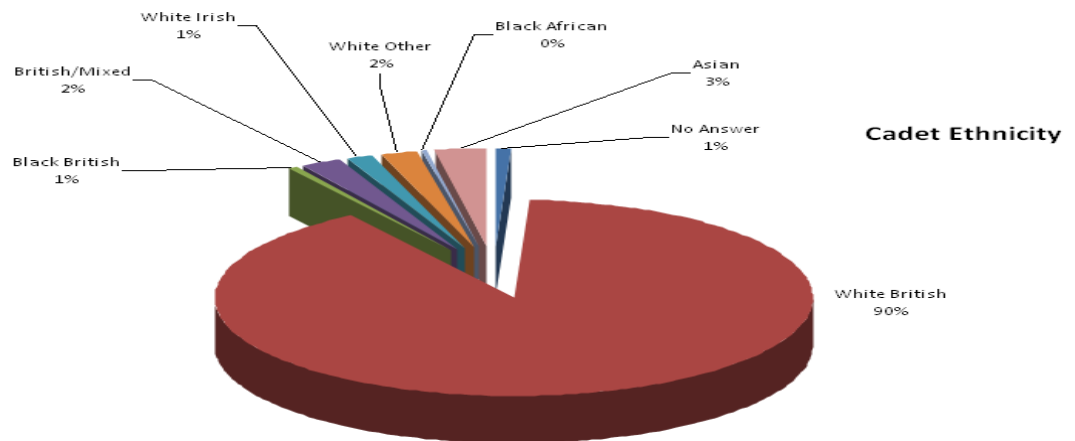


Figure 6: Cadet Ethnicity

The UOTC is a demonstrably homogenous environment, at least in the means by which cadets identify. Those identifying as “White British” led the sample by 90%. They were distantly followed by those identifying as “British/Mixed” at a scant 2.1%, with “white other” (11%) and “White Irish” and British Asian close behind at 8% and 7% respectively.

Substantive: *Cohesion, Morale & Unit Effectiveness*

Does the known presence of gay and lesbian cadets and personnel within the military occupational environment have a detrimental effect upon cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness? What effect does the awareness of such minorities have upon the rest of the unit/company/battalion? Does having a gay or lesbian member or perhaps several of them in one's battalion reduce the esteem of serving or threaten the tight, mutually-supportive relationships that the Army counts on to facilitate operations in the field? In a word, no, in

Census form in the list of (legally recognized) religions, alongside Church of England, Roman Catholic, Muslim, Buddhist and Hindu” (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1589133.stm>). It is a deeply spiritual ideology with tenets consistent with Buddhism and the unity of armed forces personnel as explored in this thesis.

fact the intimate networks of cadets seem strengthened by the freedom to serve openly as evidenced by survey data and interviews.

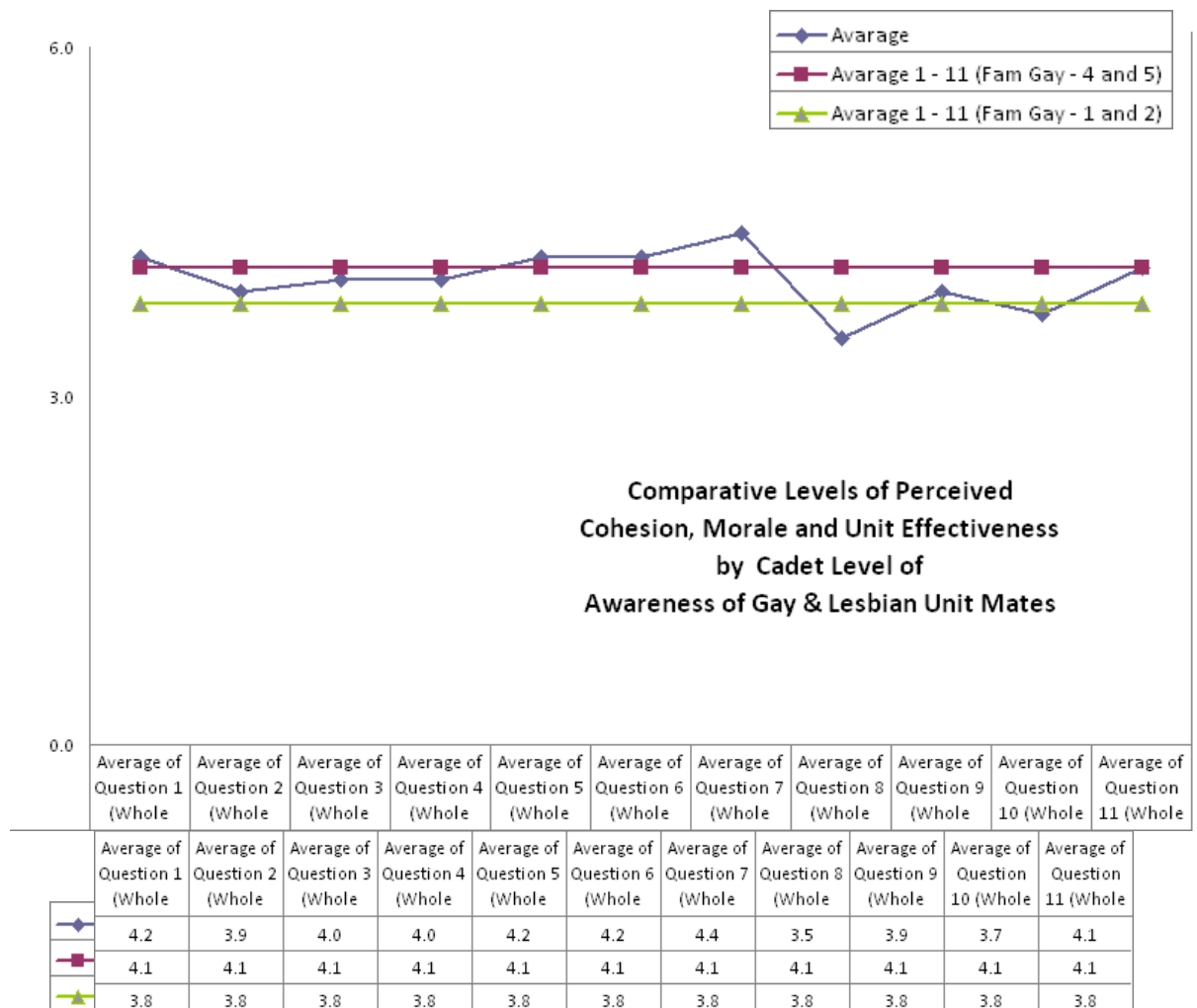


Figure 7: Comparative Levels of Cohesion, Morale & Unit Effectiveness by Level of Demogr. Awareness

The chart depicting the average response ratings on the full scope of questions evaluating the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness domains of the survey divides respondents into three groups. The lines on the graph representing the overall average (all cadets together) is in blue. The average of cadets indicating that they are not familiar with gays or lesbians in the battalion is represented in green, and cadets identifying as aware or well aware of gay and lesbian colleagues (agree/strongly agree) is represented in red. While the overall

average of the scores for each question (represented by the blue line) undulates slightly throughout the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness domains, the groups depicted as (familiar with and not familiar with gay and lesbian cadets) remain on a more constant average for perceptions of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness. Cadets identifying as familiar with gay and lesbian colleagues rated their perception of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness not simply higher but consistently and uniformly higher than their counterparts with no awareness. This quantitative measure is consistent with qualitative data from interviews asserting the importance of open service for gay and lesbian cadets and personnel.

The reasons for this heightened level of cohesion morale and unit effectiveness in battalions and cadets who are more aware of their gay and lesbian unit mates are multi-fold and range as much from the military operational dynamics explored in military training publications as from the qualities of intimate male community association explored by Plummer²⁷. Military cohesion is practical and mission focused, something that as previously stated is something everyone understands the operational value of because that cohesion, in large part determines their group (and thereby individual) success. “The cohesion is really strong” says a captain and senior instructor from Wales. “From the company to the unit level the cohesion is really solid. They have to take a guy from his mates and put him in charge and his mates will listen to him- that’s the team ethic. Even if the guy is less capable, we think-‘let’s develop him’. Everyone in his unit knows, they have either been in his situation or will be so they listen to him, give him the reins they know that that is how people learn to manage”. The ability to serve openly was often asserted as a necessary dimension of that cohesion, a quality of honesty required by the (largely male) community of the military and one that seemingly cannot be overlooked or replaced. The (non-gay) captain went on to say:

“If you are gay you are better off being out than not being out. The guys in the units will take it for what it is. They would rather have

²⁷ Sociologist Ken Plummer (in Chapter 5 of this thesis) refers to the “community of men as one of intimate association that precludes the concealment of identity,...an intensity of relations where he is ‘asked to account for his sexuality, his marital status, his use of time and so fourth” (Plummer, 1975, pp. 189).

people be direct about it, to show integrity. They have to trust each other. If they acknowledge that they are gay it takes away the element of suspicion. We are taking the piss out of each other, in order to have that banter-you have to know things about the person to take the mickey out of them. Encouraging people to be open benefits the organization”.

Being moral with people involves being honest with them. The army doesn't support discrimination-if you discriminate it won't be tolerated. We encourage the guys to be open to be moral with each other like that and to oppose discrimination. You have to have the morals to be honest and tell your mates that they are out of order. Our guys understand what is right and people changed more for it too” (Interview, 13th July, 2010).

When challenged to explain why he feels non-discrimination works in the army, perhaps more effectively than in civilian spheres of employment the captain went on to examine the question thoughtfully. He describes an environment where, social and religious objections to homosexuality cannot effectively take hold because the circumstances of life there systematically eliminate them. Consistent with other witnesses interviewed for the study, the job comes first and the circumstances of the job make everyone immediately more equal than they might be in other environments. The cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness so often cited by supporters of a ban on gay service personnel as too important to risk is systematically preserved by the honesty facilitated by open service, preserved by the basic honesty afforded individuals about their relationships.

CB: “Do you think having gay cadets in the unit affects the cohesion at all, affects the mechanics of how the unit operates?”

AG: “I don't think so. I don't have a problem with it (gay people). I have done the EO (equal opportunity) courses. The army doesn't perpetuate the stereotypes of gay people or of women in the forces. One of our majors is gay”.

CB: “So you don't see any problems?”

AG: “We know we have gay people- have had for a long time and we are getting on with it. It isn't an issue and it isn't a problem. The only problem I can foresee is a couple in the field together where they are romantic. If an infantry is holding a line and a partner sees the other shot and abandons his post, drops his weapon to go and help or cover him- that could be a

problem. I don't think that gays are any more or any less than the rest of us. We expect them to operate at the same level and vice versa".

CB: "So the piss-taking and the jokes are shared all round?"

AG: "Oh yeah. The gays we work with are fully involved and just as tight with other guys- the gay guys hand the piss taking right back at us and often throw it back harder at us. They are a part of things just like everyone else. The officer cadets don't have a problem with it either- it's the generation. I think in terms of my work with the organization-I think we just get on with it. I think the army is an a-political organization. We are not affected by social and political opinions, we are not hypocritical" (Interview, 13th July, 2010).

For older, more experienced instructors with years in active combat and the training of younger personnel, the affect of the gay minority (or lack of affect) on cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness comes down to basic capability and holding all personnel to the same standards. For them, as did all interviewed, the job comes first and demographic differences are secondary. "In my experience, I've lived and worked with gay guys" says a (non-gay) senior instructor in interview at his office in the East Midlands. "If they do their job and are capable it makes no difference as long as they are professional like the rest of us" (Interview, 16th June, 2010).

The view was held (and indeed asserted) by most of those interviewed for the study, especially those returning from combat theatre and possessing a lot of combat experience. On the notion of gays and lesbians reducing the esteem of being in the forces there was universal disagreement from experienced combat officers. Some of whom cited United States Code prohibiting gay and lesbian service personnel as impractical.

"No I don't think that having gay guys in the units reduces the esteem or prestige" said a non-gay active duty warrant officer recently returning from Afghanistan to train cadets. "I think (the integration of gays and lesbians) needed to happen-they were always there serving. I agree completely with the lifting of the ban. I think the Americans still have a ban and I think that view is backwards. I think we are well ahead of the Americans. You cannot disregard people just because they are gay-it doesn't make any sense" (Interview, 7th July, 2010).

Homophobia in UOTC?

The first finding evidenced by survey and confirmed by interview (after interview) is the lack of homophobia and anti-gay sentiment found in and across the battalions. Certainly there is some reflected in both survey and interview responses, however, it is of such minute quantity as to go almost undetected if one is not consciously searching for it. Given the broad size and regional diversity of the sample I expected much more to say the least. An analysis of anti-gay sentiment is included (later) in this results section.

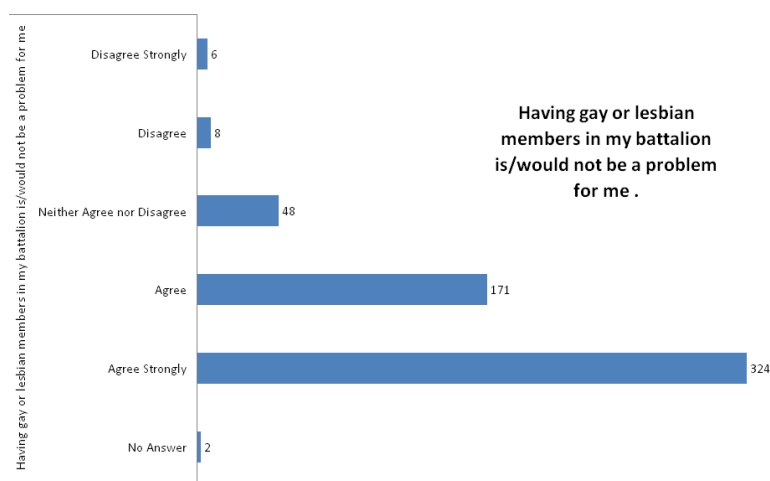


Figure 8. Perceptions of Co/Mo/UE: Question 17:
(Agreement/Disagreement with the statement “Having gay or lesbian
unit members in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me”

In terms of basic attitude toward gays and lesbians alone, the survey data at large showed well over 88% of the cadets surveyed agreed with the assertion that having gay and lesbian members in their battalion would not be a problem for them with 57% of those agreeing strongly. This attitude was reflected generously in the private interviews as well.

Homophobic Attitude and Sex (Male and Female)

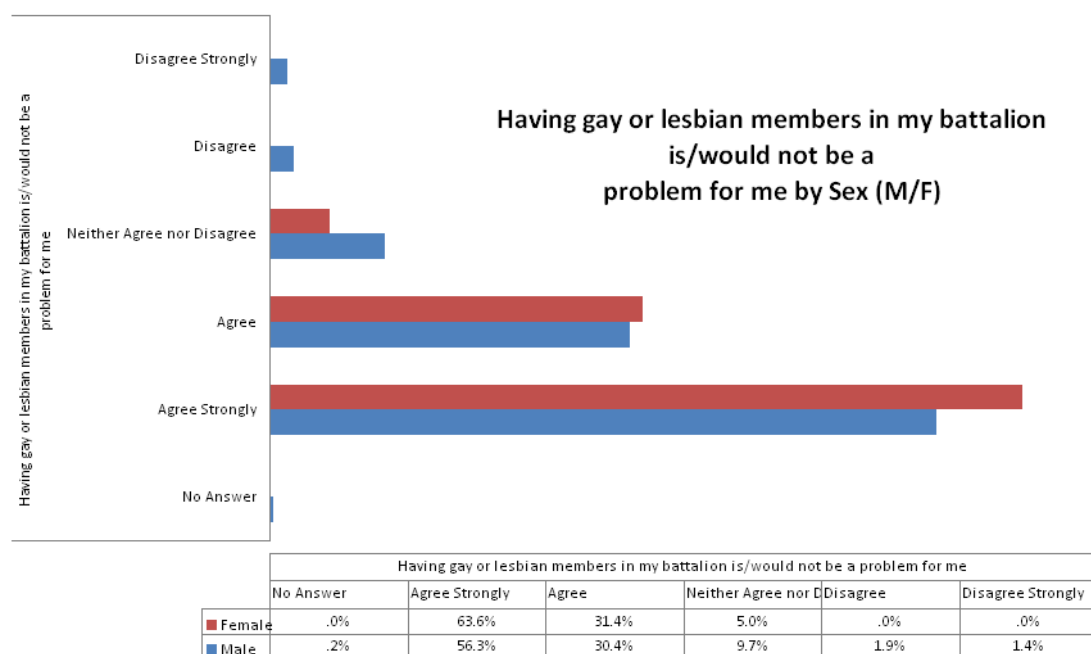


Figure 9: Homophobia by Respondent's Sex (Male or Female)

Rates of homophobia and acceptance in this study (as with many others) diverged somewhat (though less than expected) on research participants sex. Cadet response to the question “having gay or lesbian members in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me” saw a response rate for “agree strongly” at 63% for women and 56.3% for men with zero female respondents indicating “disagree” or “disagree strongly”. The disagree/disagree strongly respondents for the entire sample represented 3.3% of the men.

Homophobic Attitude and Time- In the Forces

An observable trend that validates the effects of contact is observable when responses to question 17 (“Having gay or lesbian members in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me”) are examined alongside the participants time in the program. As cadets progress from first to second to third year, the responses to this question were more likely to be positive with just over 92% of

third year cadets agreeing. Third year cadets agreed most strongly with the statement.

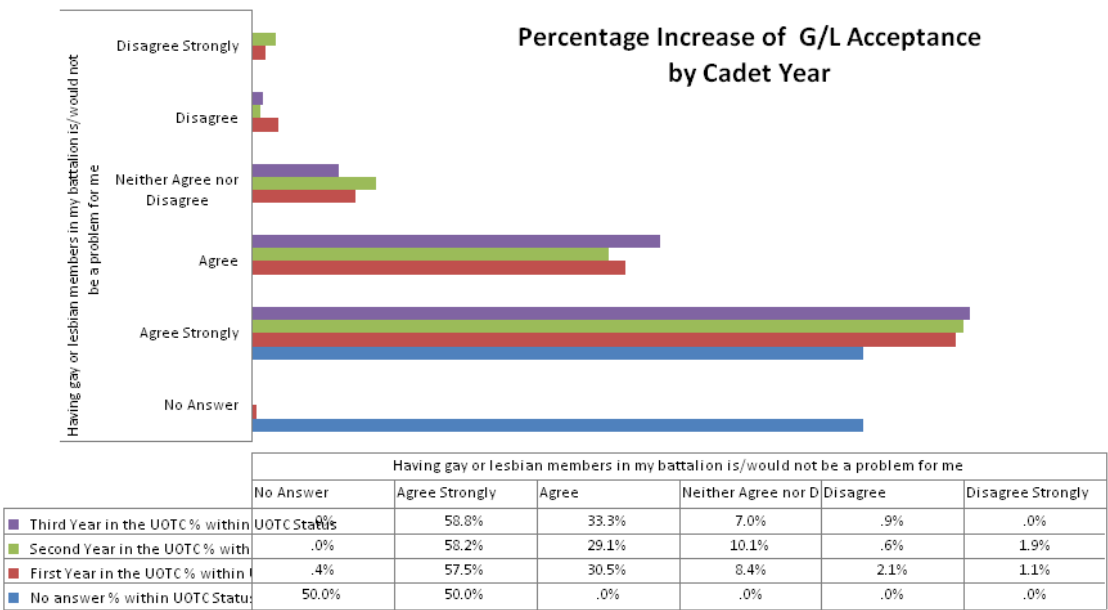


Figure 10: Increase in G/L Acceptance by Cadet Year

The retention rate of the UOTC from first year to third year is typically less than half. The number of first year UOTC cadets overall in this study were exactly two and a half times the number of third years). This proportional dynamic necessitates that statistics be presented on a percentage basis to examine the numbers in real terms else the response rate be skewed to the negative unnecessarily which clearly it is not. As evidenced in the survey question “having gay or lesbian members in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me” the sample at large shows a consistently marked rise in cadet acceptance of gay and lesbian peers in terms of attitude as they rose through the ranks of UOTC from first year to second year to third year as evidenced by fig. 14 above.

Homophobia & Plans for a Career in the Forces

There is a positive relationship between cadet acceptance of gay and lesbian peers and their respective intention to pursue a career in the forces upon graduation. This reflects positively on projections for increases in gay and lesbian recruitment as well as upon quality of life on the job for UK military personnel in general.

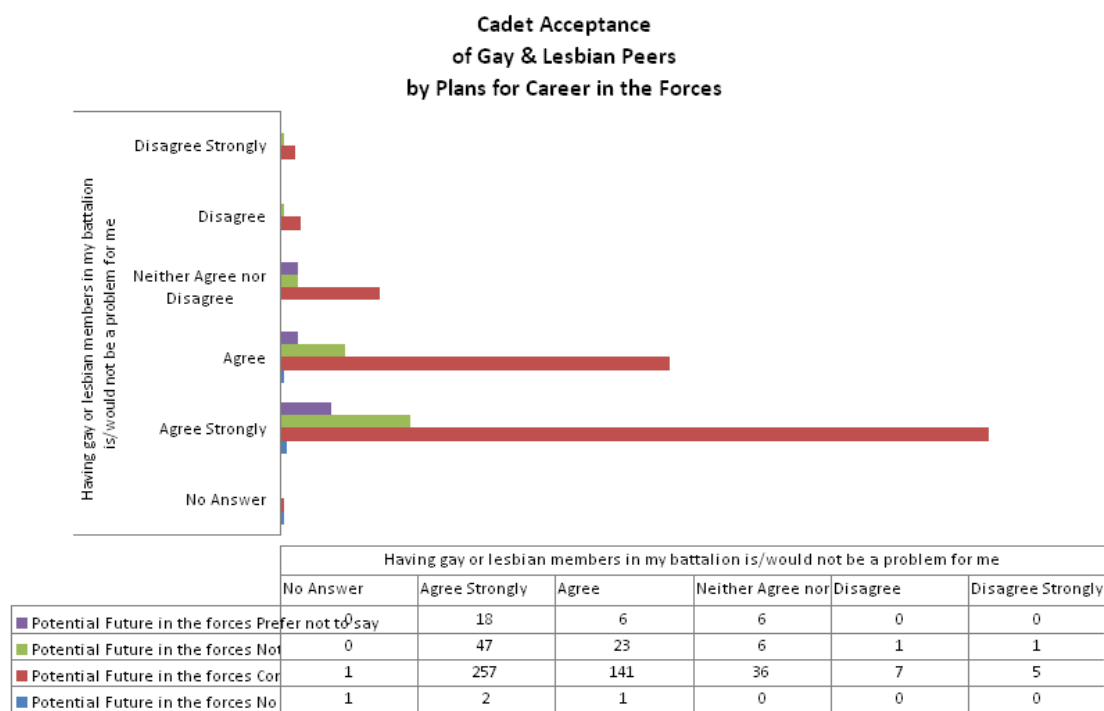


Figure 11: Cadet Acceptance by Plans for Career in the Forces

In an interview with a senior cadet from one of the southern bases I asked whether he thinks sexuality is an issue for the cadets he trains with. “I don’t see it as an issue at all” he replied. “There is a girl in our unit who is a lesbian and she was never excluded.” Moreover the (non-gay) senior cadet felt strongly that the display of such discriminatory sentiment voiced by a cadet in the service environment would be likely to elicit surprise and incite a negative response by peers. “I think that people would respond (to discrimination by peers)”, he said “and tell them it’s not on. I think the person who has a problem with minorities would be the one pushed aside and the minority gay or lesbian person would be supported” (Interview, 1st June, 2010). “The cadets in our battalion don’t have the slightest problem with it” says a psi from the East Midlands, “It’s not an issue for them at all” (Interview 16th June, 2010). For the young cadets, the lack of homophobia appears to be a generational trait, a relic from times long past. For the older professional staff it is more a matter of practicality, a respect for the environment where the job comes first and the product of their own practical experience with minorities in the field.

“It makes no difference to me” says another psi from the Midlands, “If you’re a good soldier-it should make no difference. It makes no difference to me as long as they can do the job. I work with a number of gay people in the Army”, says an adjutant from the same region, “and there was never an issue”. The adjutant cites the availability of informal banter between soldiers allowed by the inclusive nature of the policy as a strength of the social structure. “They all take the piss from time to time. They kid around, joke with each other but its all good natured banter more than anything. It’s all toward the goal of a successful operation” (Interview 16th June, 2010).

The reasons for the lack of or reduction in homophobia given by cadets and veteran active military varied by age and level of experience yet both groups cited some level of contact with gays and lesbians by non-gay cadets and personnel as a factor. A senior cadet from the southern bases related the success to training.

“A lot changes in cadets minds in the first year, and we help cadets realize there is no issue (with gays and lesbians). At the end of the day they know they need to do the same training. They realize that there’s different needs to be filled, they know ‘she is strong in some areas, you need physically strong people, you need intellectually strong people to do the job, you need everyone” (Interview, 1st June, 2010).

Elements of contact were front and centre in the descriptions of successful integration of gay and lesbian personnel and cadets in the program by veteran and active military. “There may be some people who are not familiar with gays and lesbians” said one non-gay middle-aged veteran, “but knowingly serving with gay people in combat and regular operations openly is going to change people’s opinions hugely” (Interview 16th June, 2010).

How They Relate to Each Other (Gay and Non-Gay)

Informal banter, ‘taking the piss out of one another’ and sharing a laugh is an important means of communication shared by cadets and professional soldiers. It was many a veteran psi (regimental staff sergeant, adjutant) who emphasized the importance of “Informal banter” that allows officer cadets and soldiers to relate to each other in a manner that brings them closer and

maintains their ties to the group. One (non-gay) adjutant supervising a large base in a very rough urban area of the midlands was particularly keen to emphasize the importance of informal banter amongst cadets.

“It is how you respond to situations that the military grades you on” the older, non-gay adjutant said. “Being able to mix and be appreciated for your skills, being a part of that collective sense of humour-living in each other’s pockets (closely) taking the piss (banter/making fun of each other). Banter is great as long as it doesn’t become personal-it’s a function of leadership to keep the stress down, and allow the team to make progress” (Interview 12th July 2010).

Informal banter requires individuals to know each other and know each other well. Nicknames take time, thought and an intimate knowledge of one’s mates to derive. Being given one sends a message both to the individual named, those around them and the community at large that the individual is trusted, cared about and perhaps most importantly an integral part of the unit. Those who enter the environment later may never know the individual by any other name. It can even work to establish where the individual is placed in an informal hierarchy.

The banter they engage in at their battalion headquarters is more familiar in nature than that of the average work environment, like that of siblings in a family home. As such it is a system of communication wholly and completely unavailable both to personnel forced to hide an integral part of their identity and those forced avoid getting too close. Being close enough to one’s unit mates to discuss a full range of subjects central to each other’s lives, to share information and humour freely is what opens this dimension of familial, almost sibling intimacy. This results in a sense of cohesion, a sense of belonging and safety. It’s a sense of comfort and familiarity not lost on new under officers and cadets regardless of sexuality as one (non-gay) senior instructor relates in interview.

“I’ve had a gay troop sergeant and have worked with a few other gay people in my career. I didn’t know for the first two months that he was gay- others in his regiment did. I think all it did was free up a different element of the relationship for the others to know. It brought them

closer). They all take the piss out of each other, as equals-‘oh that’s just gay John’- they are funny (collective sense of humour) and (their) knowledge (of John) just allowed that humour and that closeness” (Interview, 17th June, 2010).

The senior instructor, while comfortable with gays in the units he has served with and reported to is confident that his peers are as well. He does understand however, what he perceived as a generation gap in that understanding, noting that older personnel, perhaps higher in command level would not share such comfort and ease of relating to gay and lesbian cadets in certain situations.

“I have not experienced any problems with our second in command”, he says. “Our second in command is gay-he commands no less respect than anyone else. We got an invitation from an old Colonel who wanted us to send an officer and his girlfriend to a dinner and we jokingly considered sending the second in command and his partner but we decided against it-we knew it wouldn’t have been a good idea. I think everyone knows there’s a difference (in expectation) between the older guys and the newer guys” (Interview, 17th June, 2010).

The relationship between the individual and members of his immediate unit is one of mutual reliance, a reliance intensified by the demands of the (military) environment around them. The interaction described above illustrates the effect of that environment on its occupants. The job is pragmatic, requiring flexibility in thinking. It is a job that is prioritized over all else in the lives of military personnel in a way that moderates individual ego in a manner consistent with Durkheim’s division of labour. Personnel and cadets of comparatively longer time in and higher rank understand the need to keep the team’s ties strong and unified.

Echoes of this need to stay unified and maintain order were found consistently in every interview conducted for the study. Discriminatory sentiment, language or actions that threaten to divide, or single a member of a unit out from the rest of his or her unit are looked at disdainfully.

“Within my company, my year we are female – 8 girls and four guys- there is a lot of banter between us” says a female non gay second year cadet with one of the southern bases. “The guys will laugh and say

‘you girls can’t do this-and we just laugh. We can be at each other’s throats but when outsiders attack or find fault with us or one of our company we become a family immediately and defend the company and each other” (Interview, 22/7/2010) .

This collective penchant for looking after one’s own seems to emerge defiantly and immediately whenever a single unit member is singled out, including the rare occasions when his or her minority status might make them a target of derision. When cadets and professional staff talked about how they would respond if a cadet in their battalion were acting abusively toward a third person because that third person were gay or lesbian they were equally assertive.

“We would make them re-assess their attitude” said a non-gay young second year female cadet from the Southern bases, “if you want to be in this environment then you have to accept people” She said. “You don’t have to like it, you don’t have to like everyone you work with but you do have to accept them” (Interview, 22nd July, 2010). When questioned as to how they would respond to the use of anti-gay discriminatory language by peers cadets interviewed did not hesitate to answer. “I’d definitely go over (intervene)” said a non-gay second year male cadet from the East. “I wouldn’t preach but I would definitely give them some chatback-I’d tell them to get over themselves and probably explain the difference between banter and harassment if the situation warranted it” (Interview, 16th June, 2010).

When challenged to consider how they would respond if their initial confrontation with an offending cadet was unsuccessful all interviewed (cadet and professional staff) asserted active use of the reporting structure was to maintain compliance. Zero tolerance means just that, especially to infantry officers accustomed to having cadets comply with orders quickly and effectively in the training environment.

“I think that if any issue of prejudice emerges the commanding officer should deal with it immediately and publicly-the offender should be

removed” said an experienced veteran instructor from the East Midlands. “It is also the responsibility of cadets to be of strong enough character to report it-and to know that the Army understands the importance of it and the need for respect. Minorities, including gays get alot of respect just by doing the job equally. Others in the battalion have to have the moral courage to report (infractions to policy)” (Interview 16th June, 2010).

Superior officers in the environment echoed the necessity of maintaining order in all things including and especially compliance with zero tolerance policies on discrimination from the beginning of cadet training. Senior instructors showed no reluctance to removing cadets from the program if corrective measures to address discriminatory behaviour failed testifying that though rare, expulsion was a measure they were more than prepared to take.

“The job definitely comes first-that is the discipline and the uniformity and it is evident immediately, the importance with which they realize that and I think they do from the moment they arrive” said a non-gay veteran infantryman and senior instructor from the South. He raised the concept of removing a cadet from the program immediately in the event that their individual problem with diversity caused a problem that the individual refused to address. “In my time there have been some individuals with whom we have parted company”, he said “those who just didn’t get it-who were perhaps just out for themselves. It’s rare but does happen. The guys who are out for themselves, who don’t follow the rules or help each other out-those are the outsiders and they tend to stand out immediately”. So you would intervene if you saw one harassing others”, I asked. “Yes I would intervene” He responded. “They come to me if there is a problem if I am not there (to see it firsthand). They trust me-I am their surrogate father-I support them. If I see someone who is not on their game and not paying attention I step in-I talk to them” (Interview, 7th July, 2010).

Women & Homophobia: The Affect of Women on Acceptance

While the authoritarian and hierarchical nature of the UOTC environment has strong directive currents to mitigate or control problems relating to discrimination, the heterosexual male-female dynamic has its own influence. The strong and swiftly growing number of women in the military occupational

environment adds a dimension of interaction rarely investigated by researchers.

Women are demonstrably in the minority among the cadets across the UOTC battalion system. However, their influence upon the male-dominated social structure therein is significant as inferred from at-large survey data and confirmed by interviews with cadets. The presence of women within the battalion seems to serve as a catalyst for gay and lesbian acceptance. As illustrated by fig. 12 (battalions ranked highest to lowest by the number of female cadets) the battalions show a corresponding lean (by number of female cadets) toward acceptance of gays and lesbians. The greater the number of female cadets in a battalion it seemed the greater the likelihood that battalion members (at large) would agree that having gay and lesbian members in their battalion would not be a problem for them. A more detailed analysis of this trend paints a portrait of heterosexual male and heterosexual female interaction that is more perceptible inside the military environment than outside of it.

The phenomenon illustrates a unique dimension in communication between and across sex lines exposed by the presence of gay people in an intimate work setting like the military. The pursuit of women and intimacy with women is a central objective of heterosexual males whether they are in the military or not. Attracting women's attention is an objective that many young males put a great deal of effort into as their success with women is often seen as central to their own identity. While attracting a female partner is a central objective of males, *evaluating* potential male partners is something that women put significant focus on. It is at this point that women assume perhaps the greatest degree of control over male attitudes and behaviours in the domain of gay acceptance in the military and indeed the world at large.

When it comes to evaluating males as potential partners *self confidence* seems to be high among the qualities that women find attractive and important. While displaying discomfort with gay people in front of other heterosexual males can be seen as a joke or a reinforcement of an individual male's own

heterosexuality and masculinity, the same is not true of homophobic behaviour exhibited in front of heterosexual females. A heterosexual male who displays discomfort with gays in front of women marks himself as suffering from a lack of self confidence, perhaps a lack of confidence in his own sexual orientation and even sexual ability. This is a characteristic that was a red flag to most of the women interviewed. A heterosexual man who is not outwardly threatened or “*phobic*” of gays is a man confident in himself and his own sexuality and thereby more capable of satisfying a woman as a partner.

A female cadet from a battalion in the southern region echoed this comfort with gay men from a platonic angle. “A gay guy is a girl’s best friend and so they are sought after as they will often have male qualities which are desired whilst being strictly in the ‘friend only’ box” (interview, 3/2/2011).

Heterosexual Men: Straight but Observant

The difference in perception also exposes a dualism between males and females in their interpretation of what is going on. Women see homophobia as a male weakness to be avoided in the selection of potential partners. Male service personnel tend to interpret the exchange in a more practice-oriented manner highlighting operational strategy in the pursuit of female partners over describing it as a means of hiding weakness. Women are often seen as more comfortable with gay men than with non gay men and will often gravitate toward them. Such platonic friendships where the variable of sexual tension is removed tend to be sincere and mutually supportive. Many non-gay men in the unit immediately take note of this and use it to their advantage, allying themselves with gays in their unit as a means of appealing to women through gay unit mates. Gay men often become the critical bridge between the male and female community across which the intermingling of the opposite sexes is facilitated.

Gay enlisted men understand quickly the role they can play in this environment, as well as the potential power that can come with it. According to a recently disabled young enlisted communications specialist: “The gay guys will end up as every girl in the units best mate and so the other (non-gay) guys

think that being *his* mate means they'll get to bone the gay lads mates i.e. all the girls and really it's that simple, a small part of it would be if the gay lad in question knows his stuff and has managed to gain respect within the unit. Still a big part of it is being able to get along with the girls that all the guys want (to be with)" (Interview, 2/3/2011).

Gay and lesbian acceptance by the broader cadet pool shows an interesting and consistent trend when viewed through the wide statistical lens. Across the entire population assessed the greater the number of female cadets in the battalion, the higher the levels of acceptance seemed to be (fig. 16). These numbers and impressions gathered in interviews during fieldwork point to a unique view of the critical role of women in the integration of gays in the military environment.

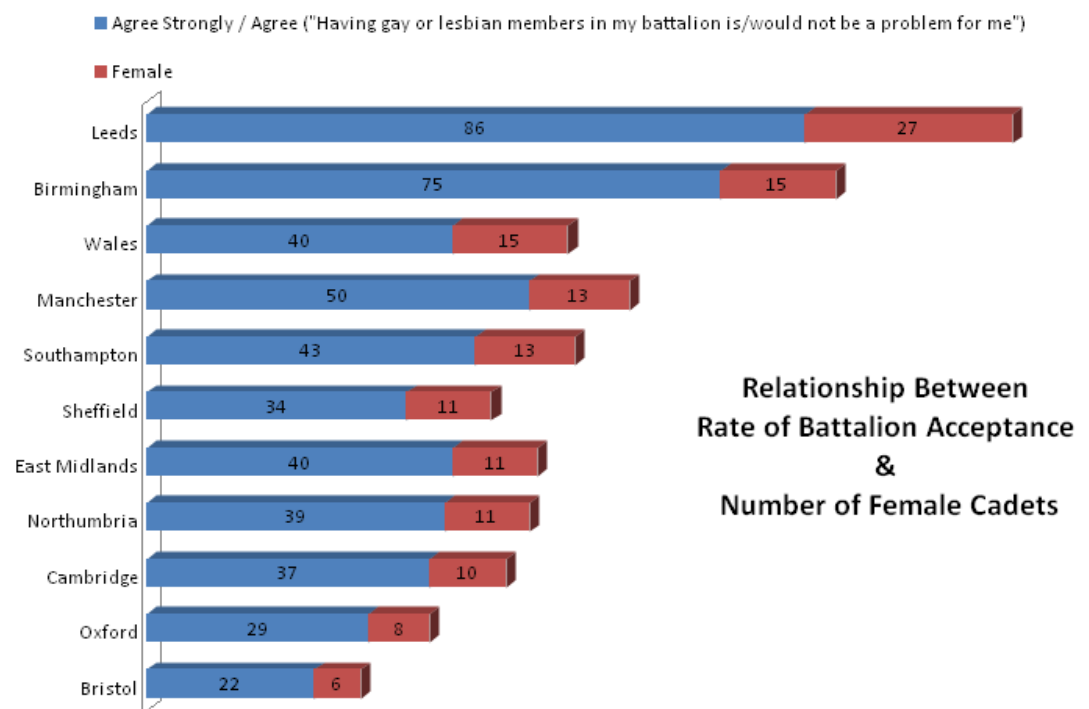


Figure 12: Battalion Acceptance levels & Number of Female Cadets

Religion & Homophobia

What makes military life, even training facilities in civilian areas so different from non-military life? Given the affects of environmental conditions

surrounding a military battalion, including the perceived difficulty of combat operations that such a battalion might face in the field, it was military social structure and regulatory regime that emerged as the primary force behind behaviour. It is in fact a force so strong as to moderate (if not displace) the influence of other structures in the life of military personnel including as drivers of behaviour. The circumstances of military life, of the military environment including the necessity of teamwork and the resultant bonding between unit mates that takes place is so entirely unlike any circumstance occurring outside of it that even such structures as religion (and differences between those of other faiths) tend to lose their immediate impact. Religious objections to homosexuality, even by followers of the most (traditionally) ardent anti-gay faiths such as Evangelism, Roman Catholicism and even Islam are softened by the directive forces within the military environment.

Religious ideology at large has seemingly never mixed well with the concept of homosexuality. While many modern faiths are reform or even welcoming of gay people many traditional conservative faiths regard gay people with suspicion and scepticism at best, as outcasts at worst. Additionally individuals typically recruited to military service generally tend toward the more conservative dimension of religion. How this ideology affects unit interaction was handled carefully in this research exercise. Certainly cadets were encountered on this research exercise with religiously based objections to homosexuality however the statistical data trended decidedly in an unexpected direction on questions relating to it. Statistical data on cadets of particular religious faiths trended even more surprisingly.

The directive effects of the total institution (as examined in the chapter on homophobia) when the individual is inside of it alters the influence that the individual's religious faith would have on them in civilian circles of life. In the civilian world religion can have a defining impact upon an individual's attitude(s) toward same sex relations at large and of gays and lesbians in particular. Individuals who count religious faith as a central and abiding element of their identity tend predominantly to take a staunchly negative view of homosexual people, at least in non-military environments. Followers of such

faiths as Evangelism, Islam and Roman Catholicism are roundly understood to deny the existence of same sex relations as anything more than a *morally bankrupt choice* of behaviour and even oppose the right of gays and lesbians to share the same rights of non-gay people.

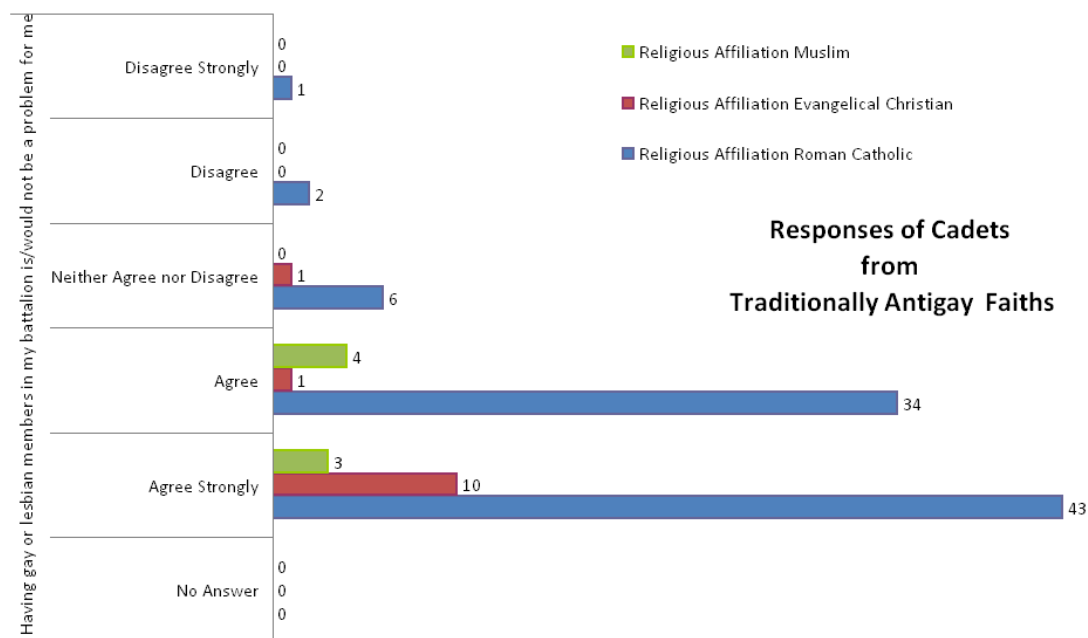


Figure 13: Respondents of Traditionally Anti-gay faiths to question 17 "Having gay or lesbian unit members in my battalion is/would not be a problem for me"

One would assume that members of these faiths would carry the most extreme objections to working with gay and lesbian colleagues in their unit and these objections would be observable in their responses to private one on one interview and anonymous surveys. However, given ample opportunity to express and register objections to gays and lesbians in their unit almost none did. The measure of control that military social structure exercises over such things as racist and homophobic behaviours, even the dimension of religious objection to homosexuality is strong, immediate and enduring.

A third year cadet from the Midlands and devout Evangelical had quite strongly oppositional views to homosexuality as a concept and was not shy about expressing those views in private interview. Indeed no research participants, professional soldier, veteran or cadet registered any objections to gays in the interview process except this one. "I think that homosexuality is wrong" He

says. "It's a contravention of God's law". The third year cadet spent a great deal of time in interview talking about how the military guides his behaviour and how he represents his unit and represents the Army and its impact on his identity.

CB: "Do you think there is a particular identity to being a soldier?"

JL: Yes I find a lot of identity at work, in my work. I keep different aspects of my life separate from that. I judge people by how they perform at work in the service-I judge them on aspects of their soldiering life."

CB: Is the sense of identity that you get from your work as a soldier reduced or at all affected or spoiled by having gays in the unit?"

JL: "My identity as a soldier is not at all reduced by having gays in the unit"

I went on to ask him how it would make him feel to work with people who are homosexual or potentially work with them in the military environment, to train and supervise them, to perhaps report to them as a subordinate. His strong objections to homosexuality and dedication to the services framed a unique answer to the question.

"I think God gives everyone a choice, he gives me a choice. Who am I to take that choice away from someone else? I don't judge them. In the military the job comes first. People have to work together. It's critical to pay attention to the job first. If they can do the job and give 100% I don't care what people do on their own time in private"
(Interview, 16th June, 2010).

Problems with homosexuality whether religiously-based or otherwise, like other problems purported to threaten the cohesion, morale and effectiveness of military units were reportedly quick to dissolve in the face of both training and operational realities of active duty. Both cadets and veterans with years of experience in the military environment cited a values structure that quickly puts things like minority differences, including sexuality into perspective. Relating the constant threat of violence and the horror of collecting

dismembered remains of unit mates and colleagues one senior instructor from the UOTC in the midlands gave an even-toned and matter-of-fact explanation for minority acceptance as based upon the realities of active duty.

“The values structure (of military life) is different from civvy” the veteran ordinance/bomb disposal officer from operations in Northern Ireland said, “You cannot afford to have problems like that. In Derry and Belfast, we relied on each other to stay alive”.

“War isn’t about individual attitudes toward minorities”, he went on, “... it’s not about politics, it is about losing people or potentially losing people, the potential for losing friends and relatives. It’s about having a support net you can rely on. It’s not a question of minority status or sexuality it’s a question of ‘can the person do the job’. It doesn’t matter if they are gay or any other minority-we don’t differentiate- because we can’t. The stakes are too high” (Interview, 12/7/2010).

Those who might argue a difference between the active military service environment and the UOTC (as absent the stresses of combat) should remember that it is experienced veteran combat officers applying lessons learned in the field to the training environment of the UOTC. Many UOTC cadets work with reserve units in their home towns when not at university. Many will be called up and see action as a result. Their instructors are aware of that and training cadets to operate in effective units is a job those instructors take very seriously.

New UOTC cadet recruits occasionally exhibit discriminatory behaviours in this environment, behaviours that the structure of the environment and officers in charge are quick to respond to and correct. “Cohesion in the military occupational environment is essential-you operate largely in four-man teams-every member of the team has a specific job. You rely on each other to stay alive. You learn to separate what matters from what doesn’t matter right quick” (Interview 16th June, 2010).

How can the simple dynamics of an occupational environment ensure an individual's cohesion with others even when those others, perhaps by their very presence are antithetical to faith they have been raised in and committed to throughout their lives? The structure of the military, its central values system is a cornerstone of the framework of exchange theory as applied to this analysis. The military is a world apart. It is an isolated system unto itself of social and physical structures within which a uniquely practical values system emerges for its occupants. It is a system of authority wholly alien to any in civilian life that transcends even its own rank structure. It is a community where circumstances may dictate that the actions of one individual can have consequences perhaps unimaginably devastating for the lives of others. This is a central and guiding principle of military life.

Talcott Parsons' translation of Durkheim and Weber on the concept of the *division of labour in society* illuminates this principle explaining how precepts of such religions and their associated texts (Bible, Koran etc.) are reconciled by the structure of the military unit. While religious texts may direct life in the abstract for their respective followers, the practical dynamics of military unit life can impinge more immediately on soldiers' lives than the prescriptive codes of religious faith. It is in this way that the unit takes on a socially autonomous or "autocephalous" (subordinate to no other authority) nature for those included within it (Weber, 1947, pp. 229). While an individuals' religious faith, or perhaps their interpretation of that faith may hold homosexuality as a damnable sin, a British SAS officer may be faced with a situation where a gay unit mate is covering him with a rifle while he searches a potential insurgent's car. Such a situation has occurred in combat and peacekeeping efforts of modern British forces, the lessons of which have put individual differences (such as sexuality) into firm perspective.

"The job comes first,...", says a recent Iraq war Army officer now instructor with a large battalion in the South. "It comes ahead of everything. It comes ahead of that sort of difference. It comes down to what we have to do, what you have to do in the military environment. You could be forced to kill someone. That is expected. Soldiering is about potentially killing someone alongside your mates to protect your mates and your co-workers. The military has to win battles-you have to win side-by-side, you have to do as you are told. You are all part of the

same team. We have to rely on each other. I don't care if my unit mates are gay-my unit mates might save my ass" (Interview, 7th July, 2010).

Regardless of how strong one's religious faith is as a driving factor in his or her life military recruits especially those serving in the combat theatre understand quickly that the most complex of values systems can be simplified in moments. Relying on someone, really and truly *depending* on someone night after night, day after painstaking day of patrols to keep you safe can change the way you feel about that person as well as any minority group to which they might belong. You may have been raised to hate the idea of two men or two women together, but when one of those men or women is the only thing standing between you and certain death it can have a modulating affect on your opinion.

The Anti-Gay Cadets

Eight of twelve battalions registered at least one member who (privately) disagreed with the assertion that a gay or lesbian colleague in the battalion would harm cohesion in his opinion, one battalion had four who responded as such (15 such individuals in all). Two of the eight bases (one in the central midlands and the largest base in the study, the other in the south) actually had no cadets registering as gay or lesbian. Those two bases had only one cadet each registering an objection to gay and lesbian cadets. The base registering the most objections (four out of fifty-seven cadets surveyed) was in the northwest and had three cadets registering demographically as bi-sexual.

All fifteen of these individuals registering as having a problem with gays and lesbians in their battalion shared one interesting disposition. All were unfamiliar with any gay or lesbian individuals in their battalion. Gay and lesbian cadets however were represented in each battalion (save two) in the study. This simple finding lends weight to the contact hypothesis as well as the assertion of senior veteran active military instructors interviewed that serving with gay and lesbian colleagues in the military changes minds.

How gay and Non-gay cadets & Personnel Relate to Each Other

The quantitative survey numbers suggest an almost ideal relationship between minority gay and lesbian cadets and their non-gay peers. Given the dynamics of the total institution of the military environment described in detail by service publications, previous research and the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness enumerated by the survey data collected for this study it would seem that members of this minority, like others previously new to the environment have been accepted completely. How else would the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness data align in such a uniform way? The qualitative question(s) as to how gay and non-gay peers relate to each other in this environment in real terms remains.

How do gay and non-gay personnel and cadets relate to each other in the military environment? It is a serious question that requires close analysis. Non-gay superiors and unit-appointed welfare officers must relate to subordinates in same sex relationships when advising them on family benefits or counselling them through domestic crises that affect their living arrangements. Gay superiors must command non-gay subordinates and cadets every day and establish lines of authority and accountability. The military environment is a geographically large and complex one. Discriminatory sentiment exists there just as it does anywhere else. There are challenges for everyone and rigid rules often require rigid enforcement. Psi's and adjutants from the UOTC, many with years of professional active duty and foreign combat experience have been with the Territorial Army from the time the policy of integration was implemented. Their experiences there, combined with their experiences as mentors, and educators of young officers gives them a uniquely panoramic view of the issue. Many discussed this experience during their interviews and related their perspective on how young officers and officer cadets coped with the experience. I asked them if the young cadets they work with have any issue with gays in their unit.

CB: "Is sexuality an issue for cadets you work with, are they comfortable with gay and lesbian cadets in their battalion?"

SH: "It's no issue for them at all. They are different from when I was a corporal. Things were more homophobic then. Kids grow up

with gay and lesbian relatives now. Things are different and we see no issue at all”.

CB: “What is your experience in the forces working with gay and lesbian personnel?”

SH: “As a welfare officer I have had one person (male) in a civil partnership in the unit living in married quarters. A friend of mine did a civil partnership with a man, he is a sergeant. A girl I served with in Germany broke up with her partner from another unit, they weren’t in the same unit of course, but they had an apartment off base and when she split with her partner she had to move back into base housing. I moved her back into base housing and met her welfare needs the same as anyone else to the same level” (Interview 16th June, 2010).

For most instructors and professional military interviewed the discriminatory ethic is a characteristic that doesn’t apply at large to younger cadets and under officers entering the forces. “We don’t see problems of that nature anymore” said a non-gay senior instructor from one of the southern bases. “We definitely don’t see problems with the gay bit. Kids question stereotypes now. Sexuality doesn’t matter to them”. When asked to explain the change in attitude the non-gay Captain, one year retired from active duty explained “They have a lot more experience with people of difference now-they grow up with it more than my generation did I think. They are used to lots of different races and sexual orientations around them- the blokes here don’t even notice it”.” (Interview 23rd July, 2010).

The senior instructors are very close to cadets and supervise them very thoroughly in their first year. “I know 2 or 3 gay and lesbian cadets in our battalion, I know of two lesbians and one gay guy” said a senior instructor from the East. “I talk to them and they are not treated any differently than anyone else. They are just as much a part of the group as anyone else. It isn’t a problem for our group” (Interview 17th June, 2010).

Social Structure:

“...you are part of a team, part of a section, part of a platoon. There is a certain amount of security and sense of purpose-knowing that you have that team behind you. You don’t want to let people down as

they are working hard for you as you are for them. When you join you are part of a group-you compete against other groups. You will always work as a team”

(Tactical and Communications Officer, Special Forces Interview, 13th July, 2010)

The structural elements and behavioural dynamics enumerated in Goffman’s *total institution* emerge into view almost instantaneously on the base visits and in the interviews. The imposing edifices of battalion headquarters, the ageless tradition of military service reflected in paintings on office walls and in murals in hallways echoes across the uniformity of dress, interaction and activity of each BHQ. The seamless maintenance of lawns, organization of equipment and kit, the spotless floors of training rooms and offices are the images that first present themselves to recruits and the impression is lasting. There is one priority in this environment, one way to do things here and anything that seeks to compete with that method is quickly eliminated. One does not have to be a uniformed recruit to understand quickly that *everyone* in this environment is on the same page. Behaviours that are not permitted simply do not appear, and discriminatory or disrespectful behaviour is clearly not permitted. It is an environment marked by established regulation and order to be certain, but it is not regulation that drives that environment.

Much is made of the military environment as a place of structure. The uniformity of dress, speech and protocol, the orderliness of space from storage to work to living quarters and barracks presupposes to the most casual of onlookers the presence of a rational plan. Enumerated in the chapter on identity and social structure this *rational plan*, this place of seemingly rigid organization, a place for everything and everything in its place can be intimidating, even threatening for some while for others a welcoming place of belonging. Cadets interviewed were found to echo a feeling of great peace and tranquillity as they fitted in to cadet life.

How it Begins

For many what begins as an interest in social opportunities, and being “a part of something larger than one’s self” quickly grows into a way of life with its own language, culture and protocol, a method of interaction unlike any they

have ever experienced before. The way that individuals think of themselves and the manner in which they relate to each other is indicative of an overarching social structure. They are not just a part of a unit, a company or a battalion, but of a force, a branch of military service with a history and a tradition that predates them by centuries. Having that in front of them is intimidating to begin with, but the evolving understanding that it is also *behind* them and *beside* them, the understanding that they are indeed a part of it is of great comfort.

“I like the feeling of belonging mostly” said a non-gay second year male cadet from the East Midlands. “I’ve always wanted to be a part of something bigger than myself you know-bigger than just me. I like feeling like part of a team. I have an identity as part of my regiment. If something happens to me in service that identity will live on after me. I have a place here. I’m a part of something larger-there is a real pride to that-I never feel lonely” (Interview, 16th June, 2010).

Soldiers, officer cadets and enlisted personnel as a population are individuals with a respect for and an understanding of the value of rules and regulations, another characteristic that separates them from many of their civilian counterparts. For many, the structure of the environment is a welcome and much needed relief from the unstructured world of civilian life where pressures to perform are often immense and *success* is rarely well-defined. Self consciousness can be debilitating. Immensely capable individuals with strong personalities and ambitious drives often seem to find solace in an environment with directive dynamics that determine in large part the substance, nature and scope of activities in which they engage and thus provide a conduit through which to channel their personal drives into visible success. The military environment is a world that offers guidance and inclusion through symbolism and ritual. The modern western world is virtually devoid of accessible symbolic rituals of adulthood and inclusion. The ability to prove one’s self and take pride in one’s own transformation is a rare encounter in the lives of young people, but an encounter many search for in earnest. Without the transformative experience that signals adulthood, roles, even identity become confused, diluted, weakened and the comfortable structure one might enjoy as a result is often washed away.

For thousands of young adults, both at traditional university age and throughout their lives, their involvement with the military provides that structure, the protection and comfort of limits that allows identity to be cultivated. The confidence of belonging, of being a part of one's company and battalion is a transformative experience for the individual. It is a confidence that many recognize as something they would not have had had they not joined.

"I see it as a big difference, my housemates are all civilian. When I am with my unit-there is a difference in personality, how we relate to each other and how we carry ourselves. There is a swagger, a confidence for sure-we are a breed apart. My civilian roommates are not as good as I am at talking to strangers they do not know. I am more confident. My UOTC mates and I have things in common-we are thick-skinned. The main thing is self confidence. I don't find others outside the UOTC who have it"
(Interview 16th June, 2010).

My fieldwork found many such individuals visibly relieved to have found the military, the place *it found for them* and the structure it added to their lives. "If I hadn't joined the Army", said one Permanent Staff Instructor interviewed for the study, "I'd be in prison". The young veteran of an enviable military career nodded thoughtfully, "definitely be in prison" (Interview 15th July, 2010). Not only does the structure of the military engage individuals, give them outlets for their individual talents and interests and give them a defined place in the group, it provides them with a readily understood template for behaviour, both their own and that of others. This restrains individual ego (consistent with Durkheim) which, in the absence of such a template (for an established order) can really leave individuals (men especially) struggling. The military environment provides a guide to their behaviour, a safety rail of superiors, peers and subordinates that determine for them a level of appropriateness that keeps their actions, thoughts and feelings in check.

What is it about the military social structure and the environment in which it operates that allows it to outrank such things as childhood upbringing and religious ideology? It is the immediacy of potentially immense consequences in the military environment, the need for basic safety and the reliance on others in their unit that is responsible for this pragmatic shift in values. It isn't about the relationship that they had with their Priest at confirmation or a reverend as a child. It isn't about their relationship with a theoretical deity or scripture. It is about their relationship with the guy who drives their transport vehicle. It is about their relationship with the guys they disarm IEDs (improvised explosive devices or roadside bombs) with. It is about their relationship with Pete, with Danny and others in their unit with whom they conduct patrols. From the potentially life and death circumstances they face in combat, to the demanding, results-oriented, outcome-focused training environments in which they are trained nothing else matters.

In the UOTC as in other military training environments, instilling this feeling of cohesion as well as a respect for this feeling and the mutual respect that contributes to it is a primary duty of adjutants and permanent staff instructors. It is a feeling that by all accounts begins in training when all cadet recruits are new and don't know exactly what to expect. Behaviours are reinforced or conversely prohibited and the learning curve is short. These are the foundations of unit bonding, a powerful set of psychological and physical dynamics with which simple demographic differences such as race, ethnicity, sex and sexuality cannot begin to compete.

Consistent with the theory of exchange and *collective goods* equal access to the benefits of the military environment based is upon individual merit (fitness, intelligence, propensity to engage in teamwork etc.) is the only control of supply. They must earn the right to be there. Once inside and once having proven themselves they are not excluded. Lined up alongside gay and straight UOTC recruits everyone learns quickly that individual merit outranks demographic difference. "When everyone comes in at the same time they are all equal" says one PSI from the south. "Gay or non-gay they are all equally new to the experience. It is all new to them and no one has an edge over

anyone else. The earlier you teach mutual respect the better off you are". This level playing field based upon their mutual status as new recruits to the military environment is echoed in virtually every region of the country by Territorial Army instructors. "The important thing is that they all get treated the same" says another PSI from the Midlands, "they bring no discrimination with them into this environment".

Another adjutant in the midlands echoed the importance of equality and non-discrimination as a cornerstone of effective basic training. "It is very important that they train together early on as equals" He told me. "In training and work minority and non-minority students learn about each other. They just need time together". Once again the critical factor, the critical phrase was "from the start". "With regard to minorities-including gays" he said "I just think that prejudice in the workplace, from the very start cannot be tolerated. It cannot be seen to be tolerated on any level" (interview 16th June, 2010).

It is here, in basic training where military forces, instructors and senior staff need to pay the most attention and exercise the greatest degree of care when bringing new recruits into the environment. When everyone is new and when everyone is equally anxious about behaving the wrong way *that* is the great equalizer. This is where the lessons of what is acceptable and what is not acceptable are articulated the loudest and where those lessons have the greatest and most enduring impact. It is the primary window of opportunity, it is achingly short and once gone it will not come again. Whether a unit prepares meals for 100-member battalion or patrols their base perimeter to protect them that unit they must be a cohesive example of unit effectiveness. Their unit cannot be divided. If it is the battalion is at risk. No one is more aware of this dynamic than the permanent staff instructors who train them.

Rarely, if ever in civilian life are a group of individuals assembled on a more equal footing from the very start of their lives together than they are in the military. This equal footing begins in basic training. There is no upper and lower social order, no caste system in the immediate training environment, no accoutrement to signify (if even subtly) a distinction between new cadets. To

each other, and to themselves, they are the same, they are equals. They are equally equipped, equally anxious and equally intimidated by the feeling of being new. "When everyone comes in at the same time they are all equal because they are all equally new to the experience" says an adjutant from the South. "No one has an edge over anyone else. The earlier you learn mutual respect the better off you are".

"It's very important to bring them together says the senior instructor from the south. "When everyone comes in at the same time they are all equal because they are all equally new to the experience. It is new to all of them. No one has an edge over anyone else. The earlier you teach mutual respect the better off you are. You must educate cadets on discriminatory behaviours early in the process, if you leave it (don't address it early) you just make it worse" (Interview, 1st June, 2010).

A lieutenant commander in charge of one of the southern bases feels that sexuality is a quality that becomes quickly invisible to those in military training given the weight of other personal qualities the environment demands. "The sort of challenges we put people through strips things down to the essentials", he says, "...the essential qualities of leadership and capability. It allows others to see past sexuality to the more important qualities of the person such as what they are capable of. That is our ethos as a force-we identify strengths and weaknesses and we build on the strengths" (Interview, 9th July, 2010).

Training is meant to be a challenge *for everyone*. It is difficult and demanding, often taking place under less than ideal conditions. The camp experience can be routinely counted on to be recalled as the muddiest and rainiest experience of a cadet's life. It is here that they learn to rely on each other to overcome adversity. There is discomfort here, real discomfort. It doesn't matter what religion, race, gender or sexuality a fellow cadet is- it only matters that he (or she) is there to support you. The unification of people or "bonding" that takes place in training combines with the structural dynamics and uniformity of base life to supplant discriminatory sentiment which might otherwise take hold in civilian workplaces where such dynamics do not exist. This is military bonding, simple, practical necessary.

Bonding

In a world where you often won't know where you are and the potential fear of what might happen next can be an absolute mystery the values system changes. In the course of their training and duties service personnel can face very realistic dangers both in combat and in non-combat operations, dangers that have the potential to provoke significant anxiety that might otherwise drive some to distraction, inhibit their ability to function, anxiety that in and of itself can expose them to great harm. Knowing who your friends are takes on an exponential importance to the individual in this environment. Being relied upon by others as you rely upon them is at once a feeling of both obligation and security. As enumerated in the identity chapter, this feeling of uniform mutual duty, the feeling of being part of a unit, a unit that is part of a battalion, side by side with your team is a feeling of security that irreplaceable. Regardless of rank, region or specialty this is the invisible but effective shield that service personnel carry with them, a signature of the behaviour-shaping effects of social structure.

Bonding between unit mates, the development of cohesion with its resulting levels of higher morale and pursuant unit effectiveness is widely and classically seen as the critical factor that conservative anti-gay forces credit with their resolute refusal to accept homosexuals into the forces. Without the cohesion and morale resulting from unit bonding, they fear, the appropriate levels of unit effectiveness will not ensure success in combat. What this research has found unequivocally is that the nature of bonding in the military environment is based far more upon the circumstances in and under which it takes place than it is upon any (initial) individual biases or the individual demographic qualities of those involved.

While much commentary has been written identifying the consequences of its absence, comparatively little research has been conducted into the nature of this bonding, specifically how such bonding occurs, the circumstances that surround it and the roles that individuals and groups play in its development.

Proponents of the military ban on this minority have not adequately described what exactly makes the presence of gays in the forces and such unit effectiveness mutually-exclusive. An examination of the *division of labour* through the critical lens of *exchange theory* answers many questions pertaining to this phenomenon. Coupled with an examination of military force diversity and perhaps more specifically the acceptance, the acknowledgement and the understanding of such diversity by soldiers themselves sheds significant light upon the mind frame of the modern British officer cadet. The dynamic nature of soldiering as a career and the adaptive nature of the men and women who choose it as a pathway is also assessed, as well as the unique structure of the military forces as a dimension of control and as a pathway to integrative success.

“The field training establishes the bond”, says an experienced, active duty warrant officer serving as an instructor with one of the southern regional training bases. “It strengthens it (the bond between cadets) and puts things in perspective-the harsh living conditions make that bond stronger. In the field training environment its back to basics and background, including such things as minority status and sexuality doesn’t matter”. This conclusion was echoed consistently across the entire UOTC system. “We are looking to create small effective teams” says another veteran instructor. “We make no differentiation between people based upon minority status-the central questions revolve around ‘*can you do the job*’” he says emphatically. “It is our job as instructors to help the students understand the importance of that-help them understand that that is how they will work in a military setting” (Interview, 7th July, 2010).

“Well more important things. The job comes first, ahead of everything. It comes ahead of that sort of difference. It comes down to what we have to do, what you have to do in the military environment. You could be forced to kill someone. That is expected. Soldiering is about potentially killing someone alongside your mates to protect your mates and your co-workers. The military has to win battles-you have to win side-by-side, you have to do as you are told. You are all part of the same team. We have to rely on each other” (Interview, 7th July, 2010).

Military social structure and its implications for identity exhibited a resonant affect on behaviour in general with cadets immediately making a connection between their behavioural choices and actions and their identities as soldiers. Even the staunchly evangelical cadet interviewed in the midlands echoed the pride of the identity he has found with the Army and the tremendous power that the structure of the military environment had over his own behaviour.

AG: "I am definitely very proud to be a serving member of (states number) Regiment as well as a member of the military. I am proud to be associated with it. That changes how I behave. If I got into a fight or got stopped for drink driving or something, I wouldn't just have let myself down or bring shame on myself I would be bringing the Army down"

CB: "So are you saying that your membership in the military community, your association with it as you call it- this acts as a guide for your behaviour?"

AG: "It does guide my behaviour. It guides it a lot. What I do I do for the Army, I do things with the Army in mind"
(interview 16th June, 2010)

What is bonding and why is it so important? It is a level of interpersonal intimacy to which the group subscribes. It establishes a familial equality across the group and ensures (in most cases) an enduring mutual supportiveness. Piss-taking or making fun of each other is the hook, the attachment, the point of sharing and the exchange that evidences ones identity as a member of the unit and as a soldier. While it may gain a laugh from individual participants and the individual object of the joke together, it does much more than that. It is the means by which the individual is allowed immediate connection with the group. It is both the (unspoken) continual question of 'am I ok' and the continual answer of 'yes- you are' all at once. Without that particular exchange it seems there is no bond, there is no connection. There is no substitute for this exchange in light of the reassurance, the safety and the security it signifies for the individuals within the unit. They will do things for each other and for the group that individuals outside the military, even perhaps outside the unit will never understand. This is because the circumstances within which they

operate of are often of such pressure, such danger and of such immediate mutual dependence as to be indescribable to those who have never faced such challenges.

What is the difference between taking the piss out of a cadet for fun and abusing him or her to inflict shame or ostracism? This is the difference between jokes for the purposes of inclusion and exclusion. It is more a feeling than a statement and perhaps more a question of delivery than of particular word choice. In text the concept seems complex, difficult to describe and explain however in the real life UOTC environment assessed for this exercise everyone understands.

“You know them and they know each other better than their mum and dad” said a psi from the north. Taking the piss for jokes and inclusion is different from doing it to just insult and separate individuals. Separating healthy banter from abuse is something psi’s interviewed understood thoroughly.

“Well I think we have it more right than the Americans. We take the piss out of (make fun of each other) all the time- gay straight- doesn’t matter- we are a team, a unit. I take the piss out of Ollie because he is from Yorkshire. We know our mates, we know if they are gay- and they know we know. We joke and take the piss out of each other for everything- it makes us closer. The Americans don’t have that comfortableness with it like we do. When we worked with them in Iraq they made fun of gays, put it out as a joke and it wasn’t a joke- we knew they didn’t mean it as a joke – they meant it to be harsh and hurtful. We are infantry-we know the fa.. (ucking) difference”
(Interview, 15th July, 2010).

Units and subunits of four to six work in close tandem with each other. This is how the work of a military force is completed. It is a challenge requiring the utmost in focus and precision in a world of potentially high stakes and often deadly distraction. Failure to support a colleague in this environment can have devastating consequences for an entire team. It is more than just the real and actual support of unit mates that drives this engine, it is a feeling. It is the reassuring feeling that the individual, like everyone else on the team will give his or her entire focus and an uncommon attention to detail to the job. It is the

understanding that if called upon to do so any one would give their life to protect the team. It is the understanding that they would do the same for that individual. It is this understanding, constantly present in the individual's mind that manages anxiety prior to operations and ensures unfettered focus while on those operations. What makes them similar outranks completely anything that might separate them.

The practical life and death nature of combat translates easily into the non-combat training sector of the UOTC as well given that many Army veterans will leave active duty to move on to adjutant or instructors status with a UOTC. When they do, inevitably it seems they take the values system of the Army with them, a system that redefines the way they relate to minorities. "Minority status is different in the military" says a senior instructor in the south. "It is less important than it is in civilian life. It isn't about being gay or straight, it isn't about being a minority or being different-the service test is 'have they affected the unit's performance?' Nothing else matters. When a guy comes out (as gay) here that doesn't make him a bad guy-the military is a more closely knit unit than other places-people would accept him more readily" (interview, 7th July, 2010).

The successful prohibition of discriminatory ethics and minority intolerance does not end in the training environment but extends to the active duty realm as well according to PSI's with decades of active service in the forces. The elite soldiers of the S.A.S., trained upon a hearty diet of military structure, discipline and attention to detail find the verbal abuse of minorities and gay people in the combat environment to represent nothing more than a set of misplaced individual priorities, priorities quickly corrected by an individual's unit mates. A major with years of combat experience with the S.A.S. believes his squad, which relies upon the focus of their unit mates often for their very survival believes the unit would work quickly to re-educate bigoted sentiment in the face of larger, more important elements in their environment. From the corridors of battalion headquarters to the echoes of those interviewed the presence of a powerful social structure is unmistakable.

“I do think the structure has something to do with it” says non-gay S.A.S. officer training cadets at one of the southern bases. “Absolutely-it’s a more practical environment. For me its 110% professional. When they are in the job it is completely focused on the job. It has nothing to do with personal beliefs. That is irrelevant. In special forces-the priorities are different. If someone is getting upset or spouting off about racism or homophobia-the rest of us would be like ‘hey what are you thinking about that shit for when you should be thinking about the job. It’s all about priorities-the rest of the patrol would put him in his place” (Interview, 13th July, 2010).

Senior infantry instructors of the working class east midlands demonstrate no tolerance for discrimination in the training circles of the UOTC. “I think that if any issue of prejudice emerges the commanding officer should deal with it immediately and publicly” says one working class PSI originally from Wales who worked his way up the enlisted ranks over many years of experience in combat operations. The non-gay, veteran instructor explains “the Army understands the importance and the need for respect”. He goes on to impress upon me the importance of cadets’ adherence to personal standards of self-respect as well. “It is the responsibility of cadets to be of strong enough character to report it (infractions). Others in the battalion have to have the moral courage to report such infractions” (Interview, 16th June, 2010).

This is cohesion, occasionally guided by authoritarianism, born of urgent, practical circumstances *“all toward the goal of a successful operation”* according to the instructors who direct activity within this structure (Interview 16th June, 2010). This is military cohesion, the product of military social structure. That structure and the force it exerts upon group and individual behaviour evidences itself to the researcher through a variety of means from the stark and obvious numerical trends of survey data to the more subtle yet nonetheless perceptible patterns that unfold through the lens of discourse analysis.

To intimidated first year cadets and seasoned combat professionals alike it is a structure they rely upon. It is a safety net that promises to unfold when work or combat operations get intense. It is an emotional and behavioural

regulating thermostat that controls interaction, levels the playing field of difference and even has the potential to limit or preclude discrimination based upon minority status altogether if managed properly. The framework of military social structure, properly and effectively managed, provides a template in which the shared identity of soldiering allows cadets to find their place. It is this finding of place that changes the cadet's sense of self and the standards of behaviour to which they hold themselves.

However, the behavioural interaction between military personnel is based on something far simpler and uniform than personal characteristics. Cadets and officers interviewed describe (unsolicited) that they behave differently in military settings and with other members of their unit differently than they do in non-military settings with non-military friends. It was in consideration of these informally held beliefs that I decided to investigate the existence of what I thought of as the third party in military individual and group communication, or the living consciousness and character of military social structure.

Consistent with the behaviour regulating effects identified by Durkheim's (1966) *Rules of the Sociological Method* and enumerated by his *Division of Labour in Society* (1933) military environment openly exhibits a social structure with its own discrete dynamics that not only "moderates individual ego" Such dynamics work to regulate group activity at every level.

This tacit understanding also provides a sense of belonging ergo an accompanying sense of safety from such things as isolation in everyday life and even exposure to hostile forces in a combat situation. This is not simply rank structure of superior to subordinate, but perhaps even more importantly unit-mate to unit mate as equals. From enlisted to officer to officer cadet, members of the military community share a mutual reliance upon each other that overrides petty biases based upon ones minority or social status that might impinge upon interaction in civilian life. Simply put; a unit needs to function as a unit if it is to be successful in the field, an enduring truth inculcated in training and (according to surveys and interviews) not lost at any stage of an individual's career. This is military social structure.

Chapter 8

Conclusion and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter will summarize and reflect upon the three-year exploration of the British Territorial Army UOTC, the insight it provided into the Army in general and the detailed portrait of the forces that it informs. It will provide a narrative that at its completion will help to define a potential roadmap to the successful integration of gays and lesbians in the military community. It is a roadmap to the complex, rugged, and often dangerous terrain of identity and social structure through the equally complex and obscure pathways of the total institution. To understand these phenomena (identity, structured interaction, regulatory regime) and the way(s) in which they work together to affect behaviour informs a unique perspective on the controversial issue of gays and lesbians in military service. This concluding chapter will bring together empirical and non-empirical findings in service to the advancement of theory. It will also present a brief snapshot of dynamics learned along the pathways of this inquiry across the length and width (literally) of the officer cadet training program of a country centuries old and steeped in a tradition of military pride and precision that began more than a thousand years ago and continues to shape it today.

Primarily this chapter will examine the primary research question “does the presence of gay and lesbian cadets negatively affect the cohesion, morale and effectiveness of military units?” It will reflect upon the answers to that question identified by the research (found in the results section) as well as discuss lessons learned and the implications for the successful integration of gays and lesbians in the military services at large that those lessons suggest. This will include an analysis of the structure of social interaction within the environment, the dynamics that exist there and the methods by which those dynamics demand adherence. It will illustrate and discuss the findings with particular relevance to differences between Britain and America, the reasons,

both theoretically and practically, why policies that have worked in Britain can work in America and some particular itemized areas of concern and focus.

Affect of Sexuality upon Cohesion, Morale and Unit Effectiveness

This study set out three years ago to examine the question “does the presence of gay and lesbian service personnel have a negative effect upon the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of the military occupational environment?” The quantitative and qualitative results (previous section) of this thesis answer this question with a resounding “no”. This was a valuable finding on its own a finding that to some degree had been made before by similar inquiries of the British Ministry of Defence, however, this study was able to examine more than just that one question. It was also able to examine in some detail the reason(s) *why* this is so and the particularly strong dynamics which *make* it so. This study was able to go further and to examine the question as to whether or not the open service of gay and lesbian personnel has the potential to actually improve that cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness. Given the nature of bonding within the military environment and the environmental dynamics at large assessed in the study, the data presented here strongly suggests the answer to that question is yes.

Sexuality is a non-issue in the UOTC and interviews with current cadets, professional military and veteran instructors indicate it is equally a non-issue in the forces at large. Why is this the case and, perhaps more importantly, does allowing gay and lesbian service personnel the ability to serve openly *enhance* the cohesion, morale and operational effectiveness of military units? Figure 11 indicates that across the full spectrum of cadets surveyed, and indeed the multitude of interviews conducted with cadets and with full time professional soldiers is that truly, in the units with the highest cohesion and morale, the bonds between members, between unit mates is too close and too strong for individuals to hide their sexuality. Neither sexuality nor minority status is an issue in the military occupational environment simply because it cannot be one. There are dimensions of the environment requiring the immediate and constant attention of soldiers, moreover, the inherently interactive dynamics of military life contribute to a shared experience of soldiering, a consciousness

that systematically de-prioritizes individual difference and places the needs of the unit ahead of the needs of the individual to the exclusion of individual personal bias.

The highest levels of cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness in battalions of the Territorial Army UOTC were routinely and consistently correlated directly with the highest levels of familiarity with fellow cadets who are gay and lesbian. That is the truth of this research exercise and when considered in light of basic common sense-indeed how could it not be? The tighter unit mates are with each other the more they know and understand about each other. The mutual familiarity is greater, the mutual understanding is greater, the feelings of mutual support, mutual respect and resulting unit pride are greater. Of course it is. Why wouldn't it be? That familiarity, respect, support and pride fuel a drive toward unit effectiveness, to teamwork that is unmatched. How do we know that, what does it mean and how might it be successfully cultivated?

How We Know

Figure 7, page 218 and figure 11, page 225 illustrate perhaps the central calculations of this project. There is a definite structure to social interaction in the military environment. These calculations help to identify and gauge the equilibrium of that structure within the regulatory regime of military service and to evidence the central truth about identity, about sexuality and indeed about the reality of life for thousands within it. What these figures and the interviews around them illustrate to potential military personnel is that their ethnicity, their sexuality, indeed any and all of the demographic and perhaps immutable characteristics that make them who they are in their current environment will not define them as soldiers. What defines them as soldiers to other soldiers and perhaps what *should* define them as people to other people in the world at large is their ability to perform, their ability to be counted on to support those around them, in short; their ability to get the job done. It should illustrate the same thing to policy makers the world over. Cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness are not based upon socio-political beliefs and they are not based upon an individual's personal like or dislike of minorities. Cohesion,

morale and unit effectiveness are based upon shared experience, mutual respect, hard work, truthfulness and nothing else.

Limitations of the Research: Differences between America and Britain

Examining instances of discrimination, and tracing the gay rights movements in both American and British history (both in the civilian world and in that of military service) underscored particular themes and qualities, threads of commonality between the two countries as well as consistently identifiable dynamics of group and organizational behaviour. Discrete and predictable overtures of regulatory regime, the total institution and exchange theory rang harmoniously with principles of identity pioneered by Freud (Sigmund and Anna) and Eriksson in the military environment as well as consistently with a wealth of sociological theory established by Durkheim, Goffman and others. Alongside these consistent similarities however, subtle differences between Great Britain and the United States emerged throughout this research from literature review to fieldwork and data analysis, differences that deserve mention.

Throughout the immense travel for this fieldwork, from Southampton to Northumbria, from the East Midlands to Wales I met tough, streetwise Welshmen from deprived communities in Wrexham and Denbighshire, talked to soldiers in Nottingham and Yorkshire who avoided crime and jail by joining the Army, spoke at length with affable Geordies trained by Scotsmen in Newcastle and servicemen from the Midlands who served in Northern Ireland at the height of the troubles. I found a rich diversity of people, and of experience, an almost endlessly diverse community in fact yet with a singular military character. Accents and vowel sounds as disparate as night and day and yet a uniform, a values system and an enduring identity that is shared. I was often left to wonder on the long train journeys between battalions whether such a finite and singular character might exist in America and considered the difficulty in integration as a result.

Britain and America are similar in many respects in terms of culture and character albeit with significant differences that should not be overlooked in a

discussion of this type. For me this contributes to a serious area of concern in the integration process of any minority group including gays and lesbians.

“During the course of my research I came to conceptualize the violence (against gays) not in terms of individual hatred but as an extreme expression of American cultural stereotypes and expectations regarding male and female behaviour. From this perspective, assaults on homosexuals and other individuals who deviate from sex role norms are viewed as a learned form of social control of deviance rather than a defensive response to personal threat”
(Franklin, 2008)

It was at this point that I considered the assaults and murders of gays and lesbians in America when I worked as a psychological clinician and hate crime victim recovery specialist in Boston, Massachusetts. It was at this point that I considered the chronologically lengthy, physically and psychologically exhausting civil rights movement (of Blacks) in the United States. The scale of the conflict, the need for armed military intervention to facilitate and ensure safety for a process as relatively domestic and suburban as *school desegregation* at Little Rock Arkansas, the sheer number of American citizens, black and white killed in the process of racial integration in America is just staggering. If past behavior(s) relative to minority integration offer any prediction of future action-one would consider Americans well-advised to be cautious of policy changes relative to gays and lesbians on a scale such as this.

Americans seem to resist change with a singular and enduring vigor, perhaps differently from that of their European counterparts. Many authors (Bettelheim, Janowitz, et. al.) attribute the “psychoanalytically-oriented” (ego and id) nature of American prejudice to its comparatively stronger manifestation as a culture. The quality is attributed to Jews and Blacks initially, but extended to incorporate sexual minorities as well. “The superego is involved in anti-Semitism, since the Jew is felt to represent the valued but unachieved goals of ambition, money, and group loyalty (‘clannishness’), whereas fear and hatred of the Negro spring from id tendencies which the ego cannot manage” (Riesman and Glazer in Bell, 1964, pp. 118). Modern analyses are often consistent with this psychoanalytic

paradigm in explaining American homophobia as a cultural variant. Forensic psychologist Karen Franklin echoes the psychoanalytic rationale reflecting upon the “tremendous rage and hatred” and “horrific levels of brutality” that characterize anti-gay assault in San Francisco California. According to Dr. Franklin such motives on the part of the assailant include “proving (the assailant’s own) heterosexuality, and purging secret homosexual desires” (Franklin, 2008). Bettelheim, Janowitz, Franklin and others assert a distinctive character to American prejudice echoed by a number of scholars and researchers. The American characterization is perhaps no better or worse than that of other cultures but certainly a different, perhaps more baseline orientation toward the perception of difference and the maintenance of divisions between groups than perhaps that found in other cultures.

Americans seem not only to hold onto discriminatory ideals longer and more steadfastly but also seem to have a lower threshold for violence than British citizens do (Bell, et. al; above). While gays and lesbians in Britain have suffered the exclusion of anti-gay policies in their military and in civilian life, the levels of physical violence that plague anti-gay crime (including physical assault and homicide) to which gays and lesbians in Britain are exposed have only recently caught up to that of their counterparts in America. The Metropolitan Police Authority has reported “1,545 homophobic incidents in the capital last year (2010)”, a 21.8% rise over four years ago (1,208) (Davenport, 2011). The unique history of the United States from the civil war in the 1860s to the civil rights movement (beginning in the 1960s) and the unusual climate of social change such events created provided a sequence for the social construction of difference, of polarization and conflict between groups. It was a sequence that helped to establish exaggerated perceptions of difference between people, perceptions that perhaps contribute to not just the emergence of stereotypes but also the intensity with which those stereotypes are held onto.

According to criminologist Barbara Perry, the United States is “a nation grounded in deeply embedded notions of difference which have been used to justify and construct intersecting hierarchies along lines of sexuality, race, gender and class to name but a few,...difference has been socially constructed,

but in ever changing ways across time and space,...and have reinforced changing practices of exclusion and marginalization. The secret to the success of these social constructs is that they are virtually invisible, to the extent that the divisions appear 'natural', they are taken for granted. Omi and Winant (1994:60) articulate this notion with respect to race, although it is an equally apt assessment of gender or sexual identity" (Perry, 2003, pp. 97).

Other (practical) differences between the two countries help to account for their potentially contrasting responses to minority groups and change, namely country size. The vast diversity in cultures throughout the UK does not diminish the difference in relative size and proportion between the two nations. Britain is quite obviously a much smaller country, far better connected by rail and infrastructure than the United States. Problems discussed and described in this thesis (e.g. the murder of Barry Winchell to name just one) relative to differing regions of the US also help to explain the wide social and indeed often vast geographic distances between individuals in the United States and hence the equally wide distances between military commands and social communities (e.g. the deep American south and the culturally diverse Northeast of the country). Levels of homophobia and anti-gay violence are far from a consistent nation-wide measure by region. Aside from geography, culture(s) within geographic regions also play a role. Gays and lesbians maintain high profile elected office in some areas while others are barely able to maintain their own basic safety in others. Likewise the respect for demographic diversity in military circles is equally inconsistent from region to region, a key difference between the two nations observed in my research.

While the diversity of differences between UK soldiers from all twelve battalions and regions visited in terms of ethnicity, economics, upbringing and background was very noticeable, the central identity of soldiering and the way of life and opinions they share on military service were very consistent- almost homogenous. Soldiers born and raised north of the Pennines identify with their counterparts on the south coast and in rural Wales quite readily when it comes to the topics of military service and force management. Can this same shared uniformity of identity, of purpose and of community really be expected

between soldiers from rural Mississippi and Brooklyn New York? As a sociologist equipped with the theoretical understanding, the fieldwork narrated and evidence explored in these pages I believe they can. The identity of soldiering is only partially about the individual. If individuals believe they are soldiers, if they hold themselves to a standard as a member of their respective unit then they trust their superiors, they are confident in their orders, and realize that what is good enough for the group is good enough for them.

The United Kingdom: Successful Approaches to Dropping the Ban

Britain formally dropped its ban on gay and lesbian service personnel in 1992. In a 2006 address, Vice Admiral Adrian Johns, Britain's second sea lord of the Royal Navy reflected upon the success of the policy change by proudly announcing that the country was "reaping the rewards of a Gay-Friendly workplace" (Lyll, 2007). What made the dropping of the ban on gay service personnel such a success in Britain? Aside from the substantial gay and lesbian activism behind the change in policy, the adaptability of the forces in general and the enduring commitment of military personnel the integration of gays and lesbians in Britain's military also represents significant cooperation on both sides of the table from minority and non-minority groups. Lessons learned from the British approach to integration will prove very valuable to similar efforts in the United States once the policies against open service have ended. Britain's success in dropping the ban is attributable to what the forces represent to the people of Great Britain, particularly what they represent to those who join up. Britain owes as much of the success it enjoyed in lifting its ban to the broad issues of leadership and pride that *characterize* its forces as it does to specific interventions, consistent with existing dynamics that were applied *to* those forces to facilitate the change in policy.

While the researcher understands the willingness in (some) respondents to give "right" answers or answers they believe the researcher wants to hear steps were taken to address this. The size of the sample as well as its demographic and regional diversity effectively helped to minimize this effect. Battalions in regions

of varying diversity and levels of acceptance were surveyed and interviewed. Sexuality was not presented as a primary variable but as one variable in a continuum of demographic differences. Indeed cadets and personnel who regarded themselves as having problems with homosexuality (religiously-based or otherwise) were sampled and interviewed. Generous at-length exploration of *their* data, both survey results and interviews are included in this text and analysis. While individual opinions of homosexuality as “wrong” were recorded in the sample the individual *attitude* of such cadets *toward* working with known gay and lesbian colleagues in the military environment *as soldiers* was not adversely affected. Anti-gay or non-sympathetic cadets evaluated gay and lesbian colleagues as cadets, as teammates in a manner consistent with their evaluation of other-non gay cadets in the unit. The presence of such data only serves to evidence of presence and strength of the regulatory regime and the unique values structure of the military environment it supports.

From the broad perspective of leadership and pride, the Ministry of Defence and the associated branches of the United Kingdom’s military comprise a state of the art professional defence force steeped in centuries of tradition, a tradition of excellence recognized world-wide throughout history. British military leadership is about preparedness. It is strong and informed leadership in short it is leadership that demands many things including compliance. To be a member of the royal forces, at any level and under any circumstances requires the individual to know and understand this in no uncertain terms. This is what makes the integration of minorities, indeed the implementation of any policy or mission laid before it such a non-issue. These men and women are highly trained professionals invested deeply and personally in a code of conduct. They are soldiers *first*. If ordered to improvise, adapt, overcome or achieve something- they pride themselves on being counted on to do it. A challenge to the operational effectiveness of the British Army is not a question of if, but of how quickly it can be overcome, and in my experience with British Territorial Army Personnel- the time to task completion is often mind-bogglingly short.

Adjutants and senior instructors from a wide variety of backgrounds and deployment experience levels agree that resistance to the policy (the lifting of the ban on gays and lesbians) on the part of professional service personnel (including cadets) was slim to non-existent in the British Forces. For the Americans however concern remains at the likely response of service personnel to a lifting of the ban as well as exactly how the integration of the forces should proceed. As late as January of 2010, outspoken critics of the repeal of the gay ban included retired general and former commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps Carl Mundy who published a Washington Post Editorial who stressed “bonds of trust between service members” and “an unacceptable risk to the high standards of morale, good order and discipline” that he felt the integration of “homosexuals” would cause (Mundy, 2010). The United Kingdom was ordered to integrate, pursuant to a directive from the European Court of Human Rights, however the roadmap to that successful integration, i.e. the successful implementation of non-discrimination was conducted on Britain’s own terms, consistent with the character and identity of British military forces. Other countries preparing to integrate their own forces should pay close attention to Britain’s example.

While sweeping changes to policy are often important to affect large-scale change, specific interventions also of course play a serious role in implementation. What is or can be needed *as and when* can vary and demands leadership and compliance with institutional directives. The discipline of Britain’s military forces again supplied the pragmatic and immediate response that ensured success. A number of interventions are responsible for the success of the United Kingdom in this regard, too many to list, yet some should be highlighted.

The Introduction of No Tolerance Policies

The success or failure of non-discrimination in the military is the same as the success or failure of any other initiative there. It is a question of leadership. The military is a top-down organization. The topmost rung gives orders to the rung beneath it and so on down to the lowest ranks of enlisted. Respect for one’s immediate superior, indeed respect for one’s immediate peer(s) equals

respect for the entire chain of command and everyone (else besides ones' self) within it. Failure to respect individuals in one's unit, the use of sexist, anti-gay or racist language is an offense and it is treated as such through regulation vigorously enforced by everyone from seasoned commanding officers right down to one's peers²⁸. Cadets found acting in a discriminatory manner toward peers are immediately and aggressively reprimanded for it *at once and only once*. Failure to change such behaviour results in immediate separation from the battalion. That is the simple reality of a no-tolerance policy and it is pivotal.

British military personnel from enlisted to senior levels of command indicated routinely that no-tolerance policies, strictly enforced were the means by which they saw gay and lesbian integration as having the greatest success.

Insubordination is not tolerated in the cadet corps or in the Army in general. It is an operational reality that an individual's failure to obey orders can have dire consequences for an entire unit, even an entire battalion both in training and in the field. The nature and circumstance of the order disobeyed is not important in the early stages of training. The *fact that it was disobeyed* in and of itself is important enough. Discriminatory behaviour is insubordination, plain and simple. From the top of the hierarchy to the bottommost rungs of leadership in training discrimination is met with immediate and abiding discipline. As demonstrated in the fieldwork for this thesis. Cadets are removed when they fail to meet the requirements, including a non-biased respect for peers. If bias (racism, homophobia etc.) cannot be trained out of the individual-the individual is moved out of the services-end of story. To allow any other system of interaction to exist on any level is invite trouble.

²⁸ According to RSM/PSI interviewed (results chapter) the Army instils in cadets and regular personnel a responsibility to adhere to the code of conduct. "It is the responsibility of cadets to be of strong enough character to report it (infractions). Others in the battalion have to have the moral courage to report such infractions" (Interview, 16th June, 2010).

Suggestions for the Implementation of American Forces

The affirmative presence and (if necessary) improvement in military discipline was asserted by many professional officers interviewed regarding the implementation of non-discrimination/lifting of a ban on minorities in the American military. Battalion commanders interviewed to the level of Colonel showed no reticence to terminate personnel who display discriminatory behaviour, asserting that to allow such behaviour would do a disservice to the unit or to the battalion in general. More than one commanding officer had removed a cadet from his battalion for such insubordination and all did so without flinching and articulated a firm commitment to doing it whenever the situation demanded. Professional officers and veteran instructors alike could not overstate the importance of this in interviews.

This was certainly not the only recommendation. Many suggested that it would help to have officers and unit mates come out in significant number so that those around them could see that not only are they the same people their peers have known perhaps for years, but the sheer number of them would put discriminatory sentiment to rest.

Sustained Improvement of Communication

Improving communication both within and across lines of minority and non-minority status and across the services via the integral involvement of gay and lesbian service personnel advisory boards has also been vital to the implementation process. The ability of gays and lesbians to serve openly allows both superiors and subordinate peers to know who they are and (gays and lesbians) to know *who each other are*. This openness keeps lines of communication open, reduces even eliminates the discomfort and ambiguity that might otherwise exist. Open service of the minority also allows the emergence of structured advisory panels and teams as well. The involvement of such groups has helped to ensure compliance with the policy as well as helped to familiarize service personnel with resources available to them. Britain's "Proud to Serve" group advises on a variety of issues and ensures that members of the minority are appropriately represented. Providing (among many other things) a means by which gay and non-gay personnel may receive

confidential advice on any conflicts they may be experiencing. Additionally the organization is an effective liaison working in conjunction with non-minority military leadership to provide ongoing education to all levels of the military community regarding any issues individuals may be experiencing regardless of sexuality or other minority status.

The Systematic and On-going Reduction of Prejudice

Non-discrimination directives are routinely instilled in cadets and new recruits from their first entry into the recruitment process through to ongoing training. Senior cadets and under officers, permanent staff instructors and others in the UOTC take supervision of cadets and subordinates very seriously. New cadets and new recruits are closely monitored and mentored. In the training environment, especially in the first few months they are rarely without supervision. The new cadets are very close with their senior cadets and PSI's who act as role models and sources of information. All of these personnel interviewed knew, and knew well the difference between the informal banter and language of 'piss taking' that builds cohesion amongst the units and language that is meant to isolate and abuse individuals. Discriminatory language used is followed up on immediately and aggressively.

In addition to swift enforcement on an *as-and-when-needed* basis, educational activities are required as well. This is not just for non-discrimination policy enforcement relative to gay and lesbian personnel but all minority personnel in general. It is an ongoing commitment to providing personnel, regardless of rank the opportunity to increase their level of comfort and familiarity with minorities in their unit. A senior instructor in the Midlands referred to a guided exercise that officers and enlisted were engaged in after training called the "so what" test in which personnel, both enlisted and officer were invited to talk publicly with their group about stereotypes of themselves and other minority groups to which they had been exposed. This gave them the chance to question stereotypes of black, Asian, female, gay and lesbian peers and other minorities. When asked if men and women were inhibited by political correctness and on their best behaviour for the exercise the Captain and RSM said just the opposite, that the intimacy of the units allowed individuals to

really let go and discuss things in no uncertain terms with a lot of confession, the very occasional tear and a lot of laughter.

As part of the interview process with cadets but also more importantly and more frequently the interviews with drill instructors, battalion commanders, active and veteran military, many offered their (sometimes unsolicited and often very candid) impression of American forces with whom they had trained, served and travelled. All interviewed politely respected and esteemed their American colleagues, however, without being asked directly, many remarked, often with great surprise and disgust at the scale of homophobia, sexism and racism they found among American service personnel. Attitude toward minorities in general and toward gays and lesbians was decidedly poor and perhaps even a threat to the good discipline and unit effectiveness they, as officers felt was important to cultivate and to lead. I was quick to turn the discussion around and ask how they would perhaps address such problems given what they know from their own (often vast) training, command and deployment experience.

Aside from the disciplinary improvements already mentioned military exchange programs for officers were most often cited by those interviewed as a means of affecting changes in attitude in military personnel. Officers and enlisted in Britain have practice with the open service of gays and lesbians, an extremely valuable experience especially to those that have little or none. The opportunity to have American officers training in their particular specialty with British officers, under the supervision of British superiors was often identified as an effective means of education. The individual (one on one) and small group interaction and mentoring of experienced officers, outside their current occupational environment would provide them the freedom to question and learn how to manage in a less judgemental environment. Traditionally, both American and British forces already train together at regular intervals. In terms of the racism and homophobia they encounter when working with Americans, British officers do not feel compelled or obliged and are not encouraged to voice such concerns or engage with their American peers to address this behaviour and a critical opportunity for development is missed.

From the fieldwork for this study I have found that the greatest potential for moving past these problems lies in the one on one mentoring and small group interaction that takes place both formally and informally. Directly discussing with British military personnel the discriminatory behaviours they are likely to encounter with American personnel before training and deployment activities will make them more comfortable engaging on the issues when the opportunity arises. The experiences of *Proud to Serve* and the experiences of British personnel throughout the integration process will help to inform and develop a system of dispositions and dialog as a means of challenging such behaviours in their American counterparts.

Conclusion: How Military Integration Relates to Broader issues of Inclusion

What this study also illustrates, perhaps even more importantly is the truth about critical differences between the civilian and military environment, particularly about dynamics which have the potential to bring the goals of acceptance and social justice closer to fruition, perhaps even in civilian life. As with centuries of human existence, individuals are largely separated from birth onwards by such differences as race, ethnicity, sex, gender, religion, sexuality and socio-economic status (i.e. class). Children of difference are still rarely encouraged to play together at very young ages, and the ensuing stratification of young adult and adult life in realms of education, of employment, of religion, gender and demographic difference continues to divide populations. It is a matrix of privilege and difficulty from beginning to end, perhaps from womb to tomb. The privilege that some enjoy as members of their respective groups is comparable only in inverse proportion perhaps to the difficulty others face as members of theirs. Countless millions live their lives and die without meaningful experience of other individuals outside their particular demographic.

It is a painfully yet consistently self-reproducing process of circumstance and social policy that reinforces established norms and creates a state of affairs that cripples any opportunity for mutual understanding or mutual respect between such groups. Properly administered, the military experience, the

opportunity to serve one's country in the armed forces as an equal with others regardless of difference holds the opportunity to transcend all of these differences. It is an opportunity like no other, an opportunity for understanding and perhaps the reason why integration of any kind, especially in the military environment is so frightening for anyone invested in the oppression of others based upon race, sexuality or other qualities. The military occupational environment is a place where individuals, regardless of minority status prove themselves to each other every day. It is a place where capable action is the language and the currency and talk, especially racist and homophobic talk is cheap, impractical and not tolerated. The uninformed folklore of stereotypes, bias, racism, sexism and homophobia cannot be maintained here as the space they take up is too valuable.

Prying back the metaphorical fingers with which America and other nations cling to discriminatory minority policy is a massive task and certainly not one that a single study or group of studies can affect. Changing discriminatory policy in a nation's military requires us to conceive of the military and military service in a different way than we have come to understand it in modern times. It requires us to look back on centuries of conflict and to consider critically our own history alongside the history of military service in general, indeed an epic history of such length as can scarcely be imagined. It requires us to set aside a modern, casually acquired and elective socio-political bias against minorities and accept the realities of real soldier's lives.

The issue of lifting the ban on gays and lesbians in the military service of their country is clearly about more than just gay and lesbian military personnel. It is about more than just the individuals, the political organizations and the ideologies that have stood against them as a minority and against the prospect of their open service. The issue involves all these things to a degree but the central entity, the central rationale behind minority acceptance in the military at large is the military itself. It is a consciousness with collective and directive dynamics born of the practical, often dire and urgent conditions that necessitate a military force's very existence, circumstances that do not change with the shifting winds of social politics. The essential identity of soldiering

itself is just as ageless, without the social stigmatization assigned to such differences as class, sex, race, religion or sexuality that can encumber individuals in other environments. It is an identity that individuals wear like a uniform, not just externally but internally as well. It is time to understand these individuals and what they need to live up to the awesome expectations of the citizenry they have sworn themselves to protect.

The short-sighted view, even unmitigated gall of authors, including military authors (Moskos, et. al.) who attribute a lack of cohesion and morale to such things as simple demographic difference like sexuality ignore completely the urgency of the military environment, and the potentially catastrophic nature of soldiering life. The Royal Territorial Army, it's instructors from infantry, armour corps and other front line areas of service train and provide cadets and reservists with an understanding of the military occupational environment consistent with the unique priorities that exist there to prepare them for careers in the military, i.e. for careers and for lives in war. Such priorities include ending discriminatory sentiment simply because there are life threatening dynamics in that environment that only strong unit cohesion can protect them from.

Racism, sexism and homophobia can harm that cohesion and thus discrimination has no place here in the military environment given that all, regardless of difference, as soldiers one and all can ultimately (and equally) suffer to a greater degree than most humans can imagine in the modern world. Disabling injuries and death are not metaphorical and philosophical in this environment, they are *statistical* and they are reality. Criminologist William Brown (2010), the Executive Director at Western Oregon University's Pacific Sentencing Initiative and the Bunker Project references the "sanitized or simplistic abstraction and political expressions" used by such authors to "provide definitions of war" even in "academic and professional (military) settings,...in fact, most military manuals". Brown's pragmatic and practical understanding of armed conflict sheds much needed light on the darkness of this 'sanitized' orientation. "War is about killing and survival" he writes. "Those who die in greater numbers tend to lose, while those who survive in greater numbers often win. Of course the

outcome of war can be altered if those who experience the most deaths also have a stronger commitment and determination to win compared with those who have more resources but also weaker commitments” (Brown, 2010, pp. 602). Overlooking discrimination, against gays and lesbians or any other minority group in a military force represents nothing more than a flagrant waste of resources and a corrosive lack of discipline. To allow discriminatory sentiment to take hold and flourish in your ranks as a professional soldier, as an officer, as a leader is to fundamentally demonstrate a ‘weaker commitment’ to the needs of your country’s military and to take your own commitment to that military less seriously. We know this without a doubt, and we must fix this with the greatest of urgency.

When we train soldiers, sailors, airmen or marines to function as effective units in combat and non combat operations we demand from them countless hours of training and practice to the complete and utter exclusion of everything else. We demand of them isolation from civilian family and friends and we demand endurance of hardship both physical and psychological. We demand sacrifices of such depth and breadth, sacrifices of such significance that they share an experience with each other that binds them together. These are binds that exist on a level the likes of which few if any outside their particular unit group can truly understand without being there and without being an integral part of that experience. The cohesion that results from this experience makes them a very tightly knit group. It is in fact a group so tightly knit that members become more responsible and accountable to each other than they do to a higher authority, even the authority that ultimately commands them. This is the intimacy of unit life in the military.

It is a unique environment with unique demands that in some cases non-military personnel would never be expected to do or perhaps even consider. Many can be expected to work in combat and combat support positions under circumstances that may ultimately take their lives. They cannot, however, be expected to hide aspects of their lives or of themselves from each other. All aspects of existence from living arrangements to duty and risk are shared and honesty is expected. This is the environment in which they live and work. The

interactions they have with whom and to whom they are responsible, essentially the interaction and overall *exchange* that takes place demands such honesty whether spoken or implied. Deception among unit mates, deception of any kind is not an option and not a quality of life that is cultivated. The reality here, echoed in the remarks of a regimental sergeant major interviewed on one of the southern bases: “I don’t care if my unit mates are gay, my unit mates might save my ass” is a reality with consequences that few outside of this environment can imagine. It is these dynamics that make the military environment such a fertile ground for inclusion. Properly harnessed, these dynamics ensure a successful result, but the process must be informed, thoughtful and aggressively approached. The ultimate result is a stronger more effective military force. Discrimination against individuals based upon sexuality is unethical, impractical and unmanageable in the military setting.

Appendix 1:

Correspondence Letters

As described in the methods (2) chapter, the study required a wealth of proposal and authorization to enter the instructional environment. This appendix (1) displays (A) the proposal and welcome letter, (B) the follow up and instruction letter, and (C) the directive to site supervisors/company instructors regarding deployment of the survey.

A. Proposal and Welcome Letter.

The first contact with the adjutant or senior instructor of the battalion is made by telephone or in person. I briefly describe the study and answer any questions of personnel involved. Approximately three to four days later the contact receives a welcome/proposal letter similar to the one below drawing their attention to the initial meeting and providing them with a copy of the survey.

Maj. XXXX XXXXX
University of XXXXXX
University Officer Training Corps UOTC
XXXXX House
XXX Street
XXXXXX XXX XXX

6th October, 2009

Major XXXXXXXX:

I was referred to you by WO-2 XXXX (Chief Clerk) of the XXXXX. I inquired with WO-2 XXX in regard to authorization needed to engage participants of the University Officer Training Corps at a limited number of universities with a short survey and optional focus group and interview series in support of my doctoral dissertation research on cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness in University Officer Training Corps programs. A copy of the research methods (including survey and focus group questions) is included in this proposal. My plan includes announcing the study and the methods to military education committees at 19 university sites throughout the United Kingdom under the supervision of my faculty advisers and conducting a short survey with optional focus group and interviews with those agreeing to participate. The study has been planned along lines of brevity and convenience to participants in the hopes of attracting between four and seven sites. The study cannot proceed without the expressed (written) authorization of your office.

The research proposed here is of the most topical social science variety. It focuses entirely upon interactions between individuals and groups and does not seek to ascertain, publish or share confidential knowledge of the Territorial Army's mission, its movements, its equipment, or its personnel practices. Every approach to this project has been thoroughly tested and consulted upon by clinical and research professionals for non-invasive effectiveness and research saliency.

The singular thrust of this research is aimed at improving the working environment and quality of life for soldiers, sailors and marines both domestically and in the field. The research proposal has been reviewed and approved by the ethical review panel of the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Liverpool. A summary of results (averages) from the first site would be provided to you at the completion of the survey and focus group.

What qualifies me to conduct this research?

As a registered clinician with the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy, I have served as a clinical consultant and intern supervisor for a major hospital system diagnosing and treating military veterans of nearly every rank, grade and occupational specialty. Additionally, I have served as a mental health clinician with 15 years of experience practicing and reporting under F.E.R.P.A. and H.I.P.P.A. guidelines in educational psychology for universities. This includes a year of organizational behaviour research with U.S.A.F. Detachment 355. All roles have allowed me to recognize, fully and completely the substantial responsibilities that you and your staff carry as the central liaison between the University system and Her Majesty's Forces in matters of military education. I understand that those responsibilities include safeguarding the privacy of students in the UOTC program as well as protecting the confidentiality of training and the maintenance of other measures designed to allow the UOTC program to function as a means of personnel recruitment. In light of that responsibility I extend my deepest gratitude to you for taking the time to hear this proposal.

Why it should be conducted here

This research seeks to compare attitudes and opinions of UOTC candidates in the United States with those in the United Kingdom as a measure of generational changes in attitudes toward serving with minorities. In the United States the University ROTC programs are the starting point for more military officer careers than any system of service academies or officer candidate schools. University OTC is considered to be the more effective route to well-rounded officer training with its blend of civilian liberal arts, creative and scientific inquiry combined with the real-world practicality of military instruction. The process prepares military officers for the constantly evolving defence needs of the nation like no other training environment can. It does so whilst allowing many of America and Britain's most talented and academically proficient students the freedom to engage in and support the greater mission of academic inquiry, a mission that we, as academic professionals, clinicians and leaders all share regardless as to academic discipline.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain has, pursuant to European Union guidelines re-evaluated and changed its military recruitment and personnel practices with regard to minorities. Similar changes will take place in the United States, however, are still years away. The ability to evaluate the implementation of those changes, specifically the sociological perception of potential new recruits to the officer candidate pool represents an opportunity of significant importance. The socio-legal and socio-cultural history of the United Kingdom is comparatively more proximal to that of the United States than to that of other nations. In addition; the high academic standards of the University of London and its longstanding history as an effective UOTC site make the university the wisest choice as the point from which to begin this project.

As university educators our unique position allows us the vision to understand how to make the social environment of both our civilian world and our military more unified and more respectfully diverse for those who inhabit them. Improving the cohesion, morale and unit effectiveness of our militaries means improving the quality of life encountered by our service personnel. This is a task that I as a social scientist consider to be my central focus and my highest calling. Thank you for your review of this research proposal. I look forward to discussing this with you and perhaps your committee in person in greater detail. Please contact me at the Department of Sociology and Social Policy (at the number provided) or alternatively via email (c.bates@liv.ac.uk) at your earliest convenience with any questions you may have. Thank you again for your generous time and assistance.

Respectfully Submitted

Chad Bates, M.S., C.A.G.S.

enc.

Survey Tool
Curriculum Vitae: Chad Bates

B. Follow-up & Instruction Letters

The follow up and instruction letters accompany the numbered and ordered survey packs to their respective battalions. The letters contain brief instructions to Army personnel who are briefed by their adjutant on the means by which to conduct the survey.

XXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXX
XX2 8XX

17th March 2010

Dear Captain XXXXXXXX:

I would once again like to extend my deepest gratitude to you for both your generous assistance on Wednesday, 15th March and your continued support throughout the process of putting the survey together. As we discussed I have separated out three groups, each receiving the same survey form and process to be distributed at the close of instruction meetings for your first, second and third year cadets respectively.

The surveys are numbered and equipped with perforated, detachable strips at the bottom to allow the cadets an opportunity to follow up with an interview or qualitative remarks if they choose. No identifying information is solicited from those taking the survey and their confidentiality is assured by the process outlined below. Instructors in each of the three sections have been asked to instruct cadets to:

1. Detach the 4 by 1 inch perforated card at the bottom right of their survey and put it in their pocket before opening and completing both sides. Slip may be discarded later.
2. Work from left to right completing the demographic section on the left first before moving to the right side panel.
3. Complete all questions to the best of their ability
4. When finished, remove the adhesive strip on the attached envelope insert the completed survey (and the white strip to reduce waste in the seminar room) and seal.

If you would collect and hold the envelopes containing the completed surveys, I will go to collect them from you in person as soon as they are completed. When collecting the surveys, if at all possible, I would be extremely grateful if we could schedule a short meeting in order to discuss referral to the other university officer training corps sites on the list. If you have any questions regarding this research please do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you again for your assistance.

Yours Sincerely

Chad Bates, Ph.D. Candidate
School of Sociology & Social Policy
enc. Survey packs (3 sets/30 each)

C. Directive to Site Supervisors/Company Instructors

The tab is an adhesive strip that encases each company's survey pack (3 in each battalion). The attached tab provides a brief reminder of directions for each instructor (all of whom have been briefed on the system already).

Section 3: Third Year Cadets

Please ask instructors in each of the three sections to instruct cadets to:

1. Detach the 4 by 1 inch perforated card at the bottom right of their survey and put it in their pocket before opening and completing both sides. Slip may be discarded later.
 2. Work from left to right completing the demographic section on the left first before moving to the right side panel.
 3. Complete all questions to the best of their ability
 4. When finished, remove the adhesive strip on the attached envelope insert the completed survey (and the white strip to reduce waste in the seminar room) and seal.
-

The surveys are enveloped and sealed individually and banded for collection for pick up either on my trip to conduct the interviews or return shipped DHL.

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